

THE SCHOOL REVIEW

SPRING 1960

A QUARTERLY

Published by THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



THE SCHOOL REVIEW

published quarterly

Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, by

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

with

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BOARD OF EDITORS

ROALD F. CAMPBELL, *Chairman*

FRANCIS S. CHASE

CONRAD BRINER

MARK KRUG

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

JOHN O. FRITZ

R. WRAY STROWIG

RICHARD J. BOYAJIAN

PHILIP W. JACKSON

JAMES M. LIPHAM, *Assistant Editor*

JOSEPHINE COSTANTINO, *Production Editor*

CORRESPONDENCE

Address manuscripts to School Review, Roald F. Campbell, Chairman of the Board of Editors, University of Chicago, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Address advertising and subscriptions to University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Notify your local postmaster and the Journals Division of the University of Chicago Press immediately, giving both old and new addresses. Allow four weeks for the change.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States and possessions: 1 year, \$5.00; 2 years, \$9.50; 3 years, \$14.00
Canada and Pan American Postal Union: 1 year, \$5.50; 2 years, \$10.50; 3 years, \$15.50

All other countries: 1 year, \$6.00; 2 years, \$11.50; 3 years, \$17.00

Price of single copy, \$2.00

Subscriptions will be entered to start with the first issue published after order is received.

Authorized subscription agent for the British Commonwealth outside North America and Australasia: The Cambridge University Press, Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England.

For subscription rates and price of single copies, please write agent.

Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Copyright 1960 by the University of Chicago.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]

Contents

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 1 | Nationalism and Internationalism
in Education | <i>H. L. Elvin</i> |
| 23 | Education and Exploitation | <i>David Riesman</i> |
| 36 | Pedagogic Milieu and Development
of Intellectual Skills | <i>Torsten Husén and
Nils-Eric Svensson</i> |
| 52 | Adolescence and the Postponement
of Adulthood | <i>Robert J. Havighurst</i> |
| 63 | Counseling the Gifted Child | <i>Gilbert D. Moore</i> |
| 71 | Team Teaching in an Elementary
School | <i>Robert H. Anderson,
Ellis A. Hagstrom, and
Wade M. Robinson</i> |
| 85 | Muted Language | <i>Andrew W. Halpin</i> |
| 105 | Teacher Stereotype—Liability
in Recruiting? | <i>Joanne W. Saltz</i> |
| 112 | Book Reviews | |
| 115 | Summer Conferences and Workshops
at the University of Chicago | |
| 119 | From the Publishers | |

In This Issue

What will the schools of the sixties be like? As man prepares for his boldest journeys in history—journeys in which he will break the bonds of gravity and soar into space—what ideas, what aspirations are stirring the imaginations of educators? As astronauts venture what has never been ventured, what hopes will schoolmen be sending aloft?

The journey from adolescence to adulthood is in its way as momentous as any journey into space. Will the school of the sixties join with other agencies in a widespread and determined effort to help adolescents who are blocked in their journey to maturity, the group that ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST pleads for with warmth and understanding?

As space scientists plan to span distances never spanned by man, will the schools step up their efforts to bridge stubborn cultural distances, as DAVID RIESMAN suggests?

Will schoolmen scrutinize more carefully than ever before the findings of researchers like TORSTEN HUSÉN and NILS-ERIC SVENSSON for the help they can offer in planning the schooling of children who are far apart culturally?

Will guidance staffs summon their full resources to meet the entire range of problems confronted by all students, the gifted and the not gifted, as GILBERT D. MOORE asks?

As we reach for the planets, will we move to break the insularity of teachers and pupils in individual classrooms, using for this purpose perhaps teaching teams like those described by ROBERT H. ANDERSON, ELLIS A. HAGSTROM, and WADE M. ROBINSON?

As we reappraise our ideas of time and space, will we also be receptive to fresh appraisals of teachers and teaching, appraisals spurred perhaps by studies like that carried out by JOANNE W. SALTZ?

In an age when men have learned to bounce signals off the moon to reach within seconds listeners miles and oceans away, will we see a new sensitivity to the muted language of gesture and inflection, a new receptivity to the unspoken language of the human heart, a language that ANDREW W. HALPIN asks us to listen for?

Above all, will the schools of the sixties heed the pleas of men like H. L. ELVIN who ask that we place high on the agenda of schools everywhere the imparting of a sense of world community? Without full acceptance of the bond that unites the human family, where can our knowledge and our journeys take us—what can we look for from the schools of the sixties?

THE SCHOOL REVIEW

Volume 68 Spring 1960 Number 1

H. L. ELVIN

University of London Institute of Education

Nationalism and Internationalism in Education

One of the most precious traditions of civilization is the feeling that scholars and students are members of a world-wide community. This has always been an ideal community, but it has been made real by countless actions and affirmations of loyalty which show scholars to believe that their ultimate allegiances transcend the boundaries of mere nationality. When I say scholars I of course do not mean only scholars in the humanities: the sense of unity that comes from the very nature of the calling is stronger still among men of science. To the scholars and scientists might also with justice be added the artists and musicians. Every one of these carries with him the sense that he belongs to a Great Society, of the living and of the dead; and in this Society there are scholars, scientists, artists, and musicians of every country.

H. L. ELVIN is director of the University of London Institute of Education. The *School Review* is presenting his foundation oration, Goldsmiths' College, University of London, March 3, 1959.

When Julien Benda in a famous book of the inter-war years spoke of the treason of the intellectuals, he meant by such treason the betrayal of their duty to this Great Society in favor of the interests of the merely political, and especially of the merely national. It is not in the least that the scholar or artist has to be anti-national or in any sense a bad citizen. Very often indeed they have been moved by a patriotism far deeper than any emotion of the market place. But what they do they do in one sense for themselves, because they know it to be good and because they must. In another sense they do it, however much it springs from local impulses, for mankind.

In times when civilized values have been threatened by local prejudice or by racial or national hysteria this tradition has been a source of great strength. During two world wars it was names like those of Goethe and Beethoven that led so many people to try to distinguish between the Prussian militarism and the Hitlerism that we hated and the Germans, a people whose history is not to be wholly symbolized by those two brutal phenomena. It is a sense of the importance of this allegiance that makes university people, even in a country like England, where we feel the State to be benevolent rather than repressive, extremely careful lest the acceptance of public funds should jeopardize our duty to pursue learning in freedom from the pressures of a national interest defined by others.

In England we perhaps tend to generalize too much from our own comparatively fortunate lot and assume that this position has been won and can hardly now be lost. It would not be wise to be too complacent. A little earlier in the lifetime of most of us, two of the proudest boasts of our scientific colleagues were that science from its very nature was international and that the hallmark of scientific work was that it added to public knowledge, freely available to all mankind. In recent years scientist after scientist has drawn attention to the conflict of this tradition with the now paramount claims of national security. I am not suggesting that this problem is to be solved by any ringing platform generalization: it is far too real and difficult a problem for that. I am merely reminding you that

many men of science have said in near despair that one of the best and most basic traditions of their calling is being wrecked, under our present deplorable international arrangements, by the prior imperatives of national interest.

Nor, in the world as a whole, are the men of letters, the artist and the musician as free from the pressures of supposed national interest as they could reasonably claim to be. For years the State Department refused permission to Paul Robeson to leave America, the plain signature of the United States to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (which insists on this right) notwithstanding. The reason was not even that Robeson was a Communist: it was simply that he refused to tell them whether he was or not. At long last the courts said that the Department of State was exceeding its powers, and we have been able to hear Robeson sing again in England. If he is tempted to make comparisons, however, he might recall that there are independent courts in the United States which can protect the citizen against overweening executive power. In the USSR the artist and writer have no such remedy, and Boris Pasternak has been forced to decline the offer of the Nobel prize for literature on grounds that are simply and solely political. I am not saying that writers and artists do not have their responsibilities as citizens; but actions like these are going altogether too far. They have been taken in times of peace, and what is more at a time when the political leaders of both sides in the cold war are calling out for more cultural contacts between their peoples. There cannot be honest cultural contact while on one side it is said that a man cannot be a good writer if he is not a propagandist for the Communist regime, and on the other that unless he declares himself not to be a Communist his art is to be stifled internationally.

In recent decades the struggle to maintain the reasonable freedom of the scholar has been a desperate one in many countries, though in England the right tradition has been essentially unchallenged. It was because of a desire to draw together for common counsel and support that university leaders in many countries showed a desire,

some ten years ago, to form an International Association of Universities. They acted, as was natural, through Unesco, though it was made clear from the start that such an association ought to be quite independent (even if it received a subvention) from any intergovernmental organization. It fell to me, as Director of the Education Department of Unesco, to have some small part in the foundation conference for this association. I confess I was rather chilled by the first response of the leaders of the British universities to the invitation to join with their colleagues from other countries in such an association. They were not exactly hostile. But why, I wondered, did they so ostentatiously carry the long spoon of caution with them as if they had the deepest suspicions of the foreigners they were invited to sup with? But they did come to the founding Conference at Nice in 1950. And, as has happened more than once on the international scene, the situation was saved by their discovering that an international organization of any kind really does need British committee work (at which we are indeed better than most) if it is to be saved from itself! So they joined in the work. And although they insisted that the program and budget be so modest that the extravagances and nonsenses they feared have been as impossible as any large-scale work, they have since that time played their part in it.

But before I am tempted to digress too far into the fascinating subject of the international demeanor of the British as it appears to one of their countrymen working in an international organization, let me return to the point I wish to make. That is this. In earlier days, when wars were merely professional affairs, it was not too difficult for scholars and men of letters to maintain their sense of international community whatever the politicians and the soldiers might be up to at the moment. Boswell could go to Utrecht with his Latin that enabled him immediately to follow lectures, and with his French that served him in every drawing room, and be received by scholars and ladies and gentlemen. And so, with or without introductions, he could make his way into a society he was recognized as belonging to, throughout Europe. Sterne, in the guise of the Sentimental Trav-

eller, could even depict himself as setting out for France without recalling that France and England were at war. Indeed, he got there without a passport, and when he found in Paris that he would need one he secured this in a couple of hours from the French. Those were the days when the passport was used for its proper purpose, to facilitate travel, not to prevent it. How our freedoms have diminished! We live now in days of total war, and of total preparation for it. The struggle to maintain the international community of scholarship and cultivation has become infinitely grimmer, and I fear is likely to continue so until we achieve a more rational international order.

Yet in the attempt to do that, the tradition to which I have referred is a strength. It is still valid in our own minds. It is still, within limits, respected by the powerful ones dressed in a little brief authority. The tradition is strong in the university world, and it is second nature to the scholar, the scientist, the musician, and the artist. And happily it is so, by infection as well as by their own natural generosity, among students.

Nevertheless we have moved a long way from the day when scholarship and cultivation were the concern of small elites who were privileged to maintain their sense of community across the frontiers whatever the pressures of national interest. We have moved not only into a period of total wars, but into a period of universal education. Our problem now is to see how the tradition of which I have spoken can be broadened and virtually universalized, so that not only the distinguished scholars and artists but the teachers and the children in the ordinary schools feel that they are something more than instruments of national policy and are really working for the aims of mankind as a whole.

This, you may say, is a tall order. But of course I do not mean that in every village school there must be a sense of belonging to a community transcending national boundaries in precisely the way that is felt by the world's leading musicians or by distinguished research workers in a specialized field of science. I am positing

something comparable in its general effect. It will have to be achieved in ways that are appropriate to the much wider audience we now have in mind, and in ways that are appropriate to children and young people of different ages and in different situations. I shall say something later as to what ways may be appropriate. For the moment let us consider the general aim a little further, for I am afraid that not everyone believes that it is either right or necessary.

That it is necessary follows from exactly the same logic that has always insisted that one function of a public school system is to encourage the young to grow up into good citizens of the country whose school system it is. Though there have been unlovely forms of this kind of indoctrination, in principle it is right. We have to learn to live and work, not in a servile way, but yet on the whole harmoniously, in the societies into which we have been born. These societies are more than one: they begin with the family and later cover wider communities. One of the dominant forms of social organization of our own period of history is that of the nation, and it is reasonable to teach children and young people about the history and the functioning of their own national society and to encourage them to take a proper, though critical, pride in it. It is a very important part of the world into which they will grow up and they need such an induction into it, apart altogether from what the leaders of that national society may find convenient for themselves.

In exactly the same way it follows that, since young people are now growing up into a world in which there must be better international co-operation than there has been in the past, then preparation for this is a necessary part of education at the present time. I am using, be it noted, not political arguments, though these could be very reasonably invoked; but strictly educational ones. The argument is in terms of the preparation young people need for the world in which they will have to live.

Now it is easier to assent to this in general than to agree to any particular proposal that would involve change in what we teach at

the present time. But there are some people whose emotional resistance is so great that they believe passionately that the whole idea is wrong. These are the lemmings of our time, so in the power of an impulse that once served them well and that no longer fits the situation at all that they are intent on rushing to collective destruction. It would be quite easy to phrase our general aim in a way that made it seem to such people absolute treason to the national state, though of course it is nothing of the kind. It has been so described, and so denounced, by sections of the lunatic fringe in the United States. We shall clearly have to consider what are the elements in national feeling that may be subsumed under a loyalty that is itself wider and what are the elements in nationalism that are incompatible with this.

On the other hand, if you were being very politic, you could so formulate the general aim as to make it quite innocuous; and that too has been done. You give yourself and your own country credit for good intentions, hope others will have intentions that you also will agree are good, and propose to change nothing. So there were people in wartime who insisted that the Christmas message should be, not the traditional "Peace on earth, good will to men," but the alternative rendering "Peace on earth to men of good will." This leaves one quite free to class any people toward whom one feels hostile as not men of good will, and has the great advantage of implying no criticism at all of the war effort. Or, to take another analogy, you report in the manner of an Address from the Throne that the government continues to enjoy friendly relations with foreign powers: but you continue to think of them as essentially foreign and outside the circle of your immediate interests and concerns. This, it need hardly be said, is inadequate as preparation for a life in which we must begin to *feel* ourselves as belonging to one world.

It seems to me one of the tasks of educational thinkers to formulate what I have called our general aim in a way that can be reconciled with all that is good in national feeling and that at the same time gives a sharp forward stimulus, so that what we do and teach in our

schools becomes a preparation for the second half of the twentieth century instead of merely for the nineteenth. The first stage in this must consist in a re-examination of the concepts of nationalism and internationalism in relation to education. It is to this that I should like to try to make some contribution in this lecture.

I once sat listening to a series of speakers expounding, in an international educational conference at Geneva, their countries' aims and purposes in secondary education. With the change of a word or two all the speeches I heard that morning, with one exception, were the same. The American spokesman explained that they wanted to bring up well-informed, enterprising, God-fearing Americans. The Pakistani said they wanted to bring up well-instructed, loyal citizens in the faith of Islam. The Russian said they wanted to bring up well-informed materialists understanding the purposes of Soviet Communism. These and others were essentially the same; the young were to be brought up as adherents of the way of life in the national state with the attendant religious indoctrination that the state favored. Only the French spokesman that morning was different. He said that the overriding aim of their secondary education could be summed up in the word Humanism, an introduction, of course in part through French language and literature and thought, to the art of being an intelligent and civilized human being. I thought, not for the first time, that with all its traditionalism, imbalance, and pressures on the young, French education still had a great deal to teach the world.

I also thought that some of these spokesmen were a good deal too governmental. A teacher, in any of their countries, might have included what they said, but the balance would have been different. Surely no teacher would have allowed himself to show his purposes and his daily practice as so exclusively and narrowly nationalist. And in an international gathering! He would surely have said that among their purposes was that of fashioning good citizens of their country, just as it was also that of preparing young people to play a part in the industry, agriculture or commerce of their economy. But surely

he would have said what in effect the spokesman of France said, that beyond these things they were trying to educate full men and women. All good and faithful practice in our profession, in all countries, bears witness that this is our ultimate aim, however much and however rightly these other things may enter in.

Nevertheless, when we look at our national systems of education we see a close connection between some of their characteristic features and the national interests of their countries. Much that is best and much that is worst in popular education has had its impulse from popular nationalism. If we think of the French Revolution as being the first great expression of the idea of the whole people in action, then equally we remember that it was in France in 1791 that the principle of universal education was first adopted by a great people as a basic principle of policy. It might be remembered, too, that one of the most fruitful of all the nineteenth-century movements in adult education, that of the Danish Folk High School, was inspired by an ideal of national regeneration.

This conjunction of an experience of national liberation and a great forward drive in education has repeated itself fascinatingly in our own time. In Mexico one of the great cries of the Revolution that began in 1911 and is still thought of as continuing was "Schools, more schools!"; and all who knew Dr. Torres Bodet as director-general of Unesco will look for a renewal of this impulse now that he has again become Mexican Minister of Education. In India the impulse toward universal primary education, as well as to popular adult education, gained new strength with the coming of political independence in 1947.

In the postwar years a chapter has opened which is new in the history of nationalism as well as in the relationship between nationalism and education. We have seen movements for independence among peoples living in areas marked out by colonial powers for administrative convenience which were not really "nations" in the traditional use of the word. Sometimes, as in Malaya, such a territory

was an agglomeration of former native states within the totality of which now there are almost two nations, the Malays and the Chinese. Ghana again, in spite of the attempt to disguise the fact through its name, is not an existing nation that merely gained its political recognition, as even India was. In Ghana and Malaya to a considerable extent the effort to create the feeling of a nation, as distinct from the several parts, has had to come after the people living within it have gained their political independence. Much the same will be true of Nigeria, and of Uganda. Even what we call Arab nationalism is not exactly nationalism, though there is indeed an Egyptian nationalism. Rather this movement, on which Egyptian nationalism is trying to capitalize, is pan-Arabism. Educationists in these countries do not have a sense of cultural unity on which to build that is roughly coterminous with their political nationhood, as France, Britain, Germany and Italy historically did. They do have something in common on which to build, but this is something that goes beyond their own borders and is pan-Arab or pan-African rather than a national culture alone. This redefines their national educational situation in a way that marks it out as different in important respects from the classical ones of western European history. In some ways it takes from them a source of strength, but in other ways it is to be welcomed, for it at least encourages wide regional sympathies and offers some protection against the danger of the endless proliferation of little nationalisms all over the globe.

As we move toward a more effective internationalism the problem in the older countries is to reconcile this with the educational strength coming from a sense of national culture, and in the newer nations to encourage so much of a sense of native roots as is compatible with the need for a world language of communication, and for learning necessary things from more advanced countries.

It is only when a cultural tradition has settled and solidified within an administrative framework that it can be said to be national. This tendency, as in the older countries of Europe, has been greatly

reinforced by the systems of public education themselves. This fixing of a national cultural tradition inevitably imposes limitations on the kinds of things that may hopefully be attempted within any given system. But it also constitutes a strength. And in any case it would be foolish for an educationist not to try to work with it rather than against it. An illustration of this comes to my mind from the period of my residence in France when I was a member of the secretariat of Unesco. I had been interested in the discussions in England as to whether philosophy should be a formal subject of teaching in our secondary schools, and I was therefore very interested to see what they made of this subject in the lycées in France. French friends of many different opinions and casts of mind assured me that the philosophy class in the lycée had been quite the most important formative influence in their intellectual life. So I took the opportunity to slip into the back row of a few such classes.

I remember the first such experience very vividly. The class lasted for two hours, in a rather ill-ventilated room, with very hard chairs. I can assert that the master held the attention of the class completely, as indeed he held mine. I was not too happy with three columns he drew on the blackboard, headed Logic, Morality and Aesthetics; and then, appropriate to each heading, the three words Understanding, Will, Sensibility; and lastly, again appropriate to each, the True, the Good, the Beautiful. These fields of study, each with its appropriate faculty and each with its appropriate Absolute as a goal, seemed to me pretty outworn. Here we were already in the grip of a verbal scheme which would stifle the real stuff of life.

But I was doing the master less than justice. He explained that all this was too schematic but suggested it as a useful scaffolding. Then he went on to ask what we meant by the Understanding, the faculty he was going to concentrate on for the moment. Here the teaching was brilliant. He invited the class to think out what they meant when they said they had understood something. Did we merely mean that we had committed it to memory? Certainly not, said the class. Well, if you understood something what could you do in addi-

tion to repeating it? You could apply what you had learned in a new situation. And what enabled you to do that? The fact that you had seen into the nature of the thing you had learned. And so the concept of insight was reached, with examples from Kohler's apes as entertaining illustrations. This led naturally to a discussion of the ability to see significant relationships as an index of intelligence. The master spoke of seeing an analogy between two things or two situations. Then he paused. "What do you think I mean," he said, "when I speak of an analogy?" "A resemblance," somebody answered. "Couldn't there be an analogy between two things that did not resemble one another?" "Yes," said someone else. The class agreed that there was a resemblance when things were superficially alike, in shape or color, for instance; but that an analogy implies a more fundamental likeness that may exist in things that are superficially different. The master picked up the point and drew the attention of the class to the importance of the gift for detecting an analogy when hitherto only dissimilarity had been observed. Was not this really what we meant by understanding the nature of things, a gift that at its highest we described as genius?

This was first-rate teaching, I thought. And how it brought out the strength of the French tradition! I was certain that from that moment no boy in that class would use the word *resemblance* if he really meant *analogy*. He would use the word, even if he had to pause for a moment to think, that really expressed his meaning.

The directives of the French Ministry of Education are perfectly clear that by philosophy they do not understand a corpus of knowledge. The course is intended to give young people (the equivalent of our sixth-formers) an opportunity to reflect systematically on their experience of life so far. Its great instrument is the exact use of language, forcing the students back on their assumptions so that in the end they refine their thought itself. This is classically French.

Now, I thought, could we do the same in England? I doubted it. Our whole mode of thought, one might almost say of experience, is different. This no doubt is why there is no equivalent in our sec-

ondary schools to the professor of philosophy in the lycée, the post there with the most prestige of all (and this alone means that we could hardly start a widespread experiment, for everything depends on the teacher). Our best secondary schoolmasters specialize in their subject, classics, mathematics, natural science, literature, or whatever it may be. Through these they endeavor to awaken the minds of their pupils and at the end they may well hope to bring the good sixth-former to see his subject philosophically. But we always want a context of solid subject matter that will anchor the swinging barque to reality. We produce philosophers through the study of the classics or of mathematics or of physics, rather than through the early study of a subject itself labeled Philosophy.

It may be that the French are not quite so logical, nor we ourselves quite so empirical, as we sometimes choose to think. But such are our national traditions, or if you prefer, our national myths. It is no bad thing that educationists should on the whole respect national myths of this kind, and work with them. In this broad cultural sense no sensible person is going to set himself up against nationalism in education.

But how far does this help the new and emergent nations? Take the case of Ghana and its associate French Guinea. In the one, Africans, remaining African in many of their basic ways and concepts, have had to find access to the world of modern thought and techniques through English education. In the other, Africans have found this access through French education. Neither is native to them; each must in many ways remain alien to them. They have in common that they are Africans, and yet the Ghanaians are culturally semi-English through the education they have received while the Africans of Guinea are semi-French. What is more, they cannot think of abandoning the world language of which their educated members are in possession, for this would be to throw away a priceless advantage. How, in these circumstances, are national ministries of education in these countries to set their grand lines of policy?

Now that they have gained their independence they will be free

of the feeling that if their education does not follow a metropolitan model exactly they will be in the position of being given what is less than the best. They can now choose freely for themselves how much foreign influence to retain and how far to try to make their education African. We may look (and hopefully, for it makes educational sense) for an increased desire that there should be taught in their schools West African rather than British or French history, the flora and fauna of West Africa rather than those of the British Isles or France, and the arts and crafts that are still enjoying active life in these countries. All this will be a healthy nationalism. But beyond this, for a long time, it will be impossible to go.

What will have to happen, I suggest, is that education in and through one of the world languages (at any rate after the primary school) will have to continue, and the situation will be broadly similar to that in an earlier Europe with Latin. English or French will have to continue as spoken languages, if only because of the number and diversity of local tongues, and they will be spoken not only for reasons of commerce but because teaching will have to be given in them.

I hope that their educational and political leaders will not feel that this is a regrettable necessity that is really an affront to national pride. Given the continuance of the major indigenous languages for popular use and for use in the early stages of education, such an effective bilingualism (which with proper teaching is not impossible) would be a splendid thing. We have all seen what an advantage it has been to the foreign policy and international standing of India that so many Indians have such good command of English. In fact, now that feelings are dying down, I suspect more Indian leaders than have yet said so publicly see advantages in the further official use of English, rather than the displacement of it that was foreseen after a transitional period. Our one world is going to display an odd looking unity if the movement away from the world languages goes much further, true though it may be that a boy or girl learns most easily to read and write in the tongue he has already learned to speak at home. It is significant that the African Government of Ghana has been more insistent on the use of English as the medium of instruc-

tion in schools than the British were when they administered the Gold Coast.

The situation is different in the Middle East, but rightly and naturally so; for Arabic is one of the great world languages. No doubt more will need to be done to equip Arabic for all the purposes of modern technical and scientific life, but that work is going on.

In this matter of language a halt must be called soon to the current nationalism, and indeed parochialism, run wild; and it must be done in such a way as to afford reasonable satisfaction where a living language is the medium of a distinctive and authentic culture. That is not true of some of the more local tongues of the world, many of them still not written down, and one wonders whether any good purpose is being served by the continuing attempts to provide them all with alphabets and dictionaries. It would of course be interesting to scholars of Celtic languages to find that the Cornish language had not quite died out; but, as a matter of public educational policy, does anybody really regret that it has done so? Do Cornishmen really suffer as the result? I know that this is no easy problem and that distinctions are to be drawn between cases that superficially look the same. There is a great deal of difference, for instance, between the situation of Welsh in Wales and that of Irish in Ireland. In Wales, Welsh is still a living language. In Ireland, years of government pressure have not brought Irish to life and the attempt is simply retarding the education of every child in the country. In this matter, nationalism (or sometimes, as I have said, mere parochialism) will have to come to terms with reality.

By and large, then, some of the emergent nations are in a position that is considerably different from that of the older nations. This deprives them of certain kinds of strength, such as we have seen the French and British national cultural traditions to have. But there are advantages in the disadvantage. These new nations may find it easier, so long as in their educational systems they can find a reasonable reflection of their own cultural identity, to give their young people the immediate sense of a wider international life.

But all that I have said so far has been negative. I should like now to ask the really difficult questions as to the constructive steps we should take to bring a sense of the necessary unity of mankind into our schools and colleges. Here it is essential to be clear as to what we have in mind when we speak of "internationalism."

I do not mean by it a rootless cosmopolitanism that is emotionally attached to all countries and all places equally. I do not mean by it merely a political philosophy that supports the United Nations, though that would be included in what I mean. I do not mean a weak friendliness that is willing to assume that all systems of government, all national traditions, and the ways of life of all peoples are equally worthy of admiration. What I mean by internationalism is a readiness to act on the assumption that mankind as a whole is the proper society to have in mind for matters that cannot with safety or with such good effect be left exclusively within the domain of smaller social groups such as nations. I think it will be agreed that this is not an extravagant definition.

Modest and reasonable as such a definition may be, to act upon it would take us a long way. One thing that cannot be left with safety to lesser groups than mankind as a whole in an age of nuclear weapons is the ultimate control of physical force. This is not the place in which to discuss that complicated problem, but obviously it implies a world authority more powerful than any single national state or group of states. That means changes in our minds and habits that are colossal. In the second place it is clear that there is a whole range of problems, like disease (since germs recognize no frontiers and get in without passports), where national action alone is not enough. And there are others dealt with by the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations for which collective action is either more efficacious or more acceptable than action by individual countries.

Preserving the peace and making it more prosperous and enjoyable do not call for any fundamental change in human nature. To say that there can be peace only if there is a change in the human heart and we all become personal pacifists, or (to give this view its more

modish form) to say that we must wait until psychologists have told us more about our aggressive impulses and how to contain them, is to be frivolous. What is needed is a modification of the structure of human organization and a modification of human behavior that will help this to work. It is not my purpose here to discuss the detailed nature of such machinery. The world has seen two attempts to provide it, in the League of Nations and in the United Nations. No doubt in any case the machinery might have been more perfect, but the former failed, and the latter has had imperfect success, not through any defect in machinery half as much as through the unwillingness of the member countries so to modify their behavior as to allow the machinery to work. Peace and the common human welfare cannot be maintained *by* the United Nations; they can only be maintained *through* the United Nations. They will be maintained *by* the member countries working through the United Nations or whatever other machinery may be set up.

Nothing that an educationist or teacher can do will save us from nuclear destruction in the next five years. But on the assumption—the only one we can make—that somehow the statesmen will save us not merely from deliberate war but from accidental major war following some local tension, then the machinery of international co-operation can come into smooth and full working only insofar as our education predisposes the coming generation to just this.

Some people—though this is really quite fantastic—feel that statements of that kind smack of “propaganda.” This is amazing because those same people never question that it is quite right in our national school systems to encourage good and understanding citizenship of our national states. They do not pretend—they could not—that we are unconcerned about forming attitudes and predispositions in our young people. It is true that in such matters a fine moral discretion must be engaged; but to suggest that we are not concerned at all in our education with what is called “socializing” the young is not true. The only change I am asking for is that we recognize properly, as we have not yet done, that the society into which we are

inducting them is now for certain respects human society as a whole, and can be no less.

If we would admit this simple fact and then take a new look at what we teach in our schools and colleges the whole rather sad discussion as to "education of international understanding" would be lifted on to a new plane. When I moved in Unesco circles I argued, and was looked at askance by my colleagues for doing so, that to talk of teaching about the United Nations was to substitute the part for the whole and to risk forfeiting the good will of many teachers because you seemed to want to add just one more subject, and an academically doubtful one at that, to an overloaded curriculum. I argued also, and again with no great success, that it was foolish to ask for two things, one called education and the other called education for international understanding. That put the whole matter in the wrong perspective. No history teacher—to repeat the most obvious example—believes that there are two kinds of history: history proper, and then (if there is time for it) history for better international understanding. The question to ask—and every teacher, whatever his reply, will recognize that the question makes educational sense—is whether what we are teaching is on the whole the best preparation we can give the present generation of youngsters for the world they will have to live in. I do not think it is.

We of course teach many things that take us beyond the political confines of a single country, from geography to music and natural science. But by and large, and especially in the matter of the social information we give and the social predispositions we form, our education is still posited on the assumption of the nation state. As I indicated earlier, insofar as this is to give local reality to what we teach, insofar as it calls upon the strength of a local cultural tradition, it is educationally good and sound; and I am not suggesting changing that. But it goes far beyond this. On the whole the schools of England are disposed to turn out good young Englishmen and women, as the schools of the United States are disposed to turn out good young Americans, the schools of Russia good Communist Rus-

sians, and so on. But, in spite of fine individual efforts here and there, they are not disposed to turn out citizens of humanity in that now very considerable range of affairs where nothing less will do.

Suppose we had a clean sheet and could start to plan the curriculum anew tomorrow with simply the thought in mind that the loyalty that had hitherto been exclusively to the national state had from now on also to be to mankind as a whole, what should we do? To begin with we should revolutionize the teaching of history. We should insist that together with a measure of local and national history there should be, as now the main emphasis, the history of mankind. Are the Wars of the Roses or the tangles of eighteenth-century European diplomacy of anything like the interest or importance to us now that introductions to the historical civilizations of India and China would be? I suppose that I have heard all the arguments about the pedagogical difficulties of teaching world history. They are not weighty enough. Of course thought will be needed as to how to do this and that, and in particular as to how to combine the grand sweep of the human story with the detailed study of some one period or civilization that will make for thoroughness. But that is no new problem. We have already faced it in the teaching of national history.

Then, secondly, we must do something more through our schools to stamp on race prejudice for the ugly thing it is. This of course is not coterminous with any one school subject, but an effect to which the teaching of many subjects, and still more the atmosphere of a school, can contribute decisively. We do have many schools, not least in London, where there are children of more than one color and where the atmosphere is excellent. In general we might fairly say that there are some other countries where there is more need of remedial action than in our own. But after some recent experiences we can hardly be content. It has to be remembered that the new nationalisms in Asia and Africa are much less nationalism as we have known it than determined protests against the color bar, just as the attraction of communism to some among these peoples is based less

on an acceptance of the economic theories of Marx than on a belief that communism is, as the term goes, "anti-colonialist."

Thirdly, I should like to raise a point about the teaching of religion. I am not talking of opening ceremonies in school so much as of the teaching of religion as a school subject. It has surprised me on coming back to England after a period of educational work with colleagues of many different religions, and of none, to find so general an assumption in educational circles here that the word *religion* is coterminous with the word *Christianity*. I should have thought that if there were to be educational, as distinct from merely missionary, justification for allotting periods in the timetable to religion, then young people must be given some understanding of the fact that there are many religions in the world, and a measure of insight into them and into the ethical systems with which they are associated. We in England are tolerant in matters of religion, and that is something of great value. But is not our tolerance commonly little more than a feeling that it would not be good to hurt the other fellow's feelings, rather than a tolerance based on knowledge and understanding?

It is difficult to refrain from saying something also about our teaching of languages in relation to the needs of the present time. A thorough overhaul of our methods here is long overdue. Michael Redgrave said in a letter to the *Times* only the other day how surprised his French hosts were when he stayed in France as a young man that he could read the very difficult French of Proust though he could not speak the comparatively simple French of Racine, and he drew a startling comparison between our inability to speak even one foreign language with the excellent spoken English he had heard from young people in Moscow whose teachers had not been outside Russia. In spite of the widespread knowledge of English in other countries we simply cannot afford to fall down in this matter much longer. It is not as if better methods were not known.

There is probably no school subject that we should not change in some important respect if we looked at the education we give

from the point of view of our human concerns instead of from the national point of view only. Yet the most important thing is not the content of what we teach but the attitude we try to encourage in the young. How much are we doing in schools to challenge those stereotypes of national character that, even when they have an element of truth in them, do so much harm to all of us, especially at moments of crisis? There are good things being done: the interchange of teachers between countries, the increase in educational travel official and unofficial, the work of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and experiments here and in other countries under the Unesco scheme for experimental teaching in relation to international understanding. But these are still peripheral. What we need is a rethinking of our ordinary curriculum from the point of view of what is needed to fit young people for the present age.

Now such changes could be instituted country by country, each acting alone. But there would be little encouragement for us if, while we tried to give an accurate and not unsympathetic account of life in some other country, they continued in their old ways, in part at our expense. The whole movement takes on a new impetus if it is done collectively. But that is difficult, especially when it is organized only in an intergovernmental way. Unesco has done its best; but I wonder how far it is realized that Unesco can do nothing without the consent of its member states? Unesco, for instance, could not publish this lecture that I have given. If the manuscript were submitted to it I know only too well what would happen. The American permanent delegate would have to be asked if the State Department would have any objection to what I said earlier on about its refusing a passport to Paul Robeson. The Russian permanent delegate would have to be asked if his government saw any objection to what I had said about the treatment of Boris Pasternak. I should then get the manuscript back asking if I would kindly take out these passages and no doubt make other changes. Then the document would be internally edited and translated. The result, if it ever came out, would be a piece of innocuous Unesco-ese, providing an easy gibe for the *Times*

Educational Supplement, with never a thought that the poor international civil servants and the author were not to blame, but the governmental restrictions under which they have to work.

Unesco has done best when it has worked through bi-national voluntary committees, such as those for the revision of textbooks to exclude nationalist bias, or through its national commissions in accordance with a centrally conceived and agreed plan. What is called the "major project" for the better understanding of East and West holds out great hope along these lines, and it is being acted on in England. But Unesco could work very much better if there were more widespread support for it within the different member countries and if the voice of the professional and voluntary associations were stronger in its counsels.

To sum up what I have been saying. It seems clear that we have reached a stage in the history of mankind when very important parts of our human arrangements must be on a world-wide scale. What might be called cultural nationalism is educationally often a very good thing, but political nationalism, except in terms of sensible devolution, is bound now to become increasingly a thing of the past if we are to survive. The changes in our outlook and habits that are necessary for this to succeed cannot come about unless in our education we decide to prepare young people for a life of this kind as we have hitherto prepared them for a life limited by national allegiances. To make these changes will require great thought and practical educational skill. In attempting this we have on our side the perennial tradition of learning, that it is shared in and belongs to mankind as a whole. The distinctive educational task of our time is to develop and broaden this tradition so that it passes down from the scholars and the scientists, the artists and musicians, to the ordinary teacher and the ordinary boy and girl.

DAVID RIESMAN

Harvard University

Education and Exploitation

Education has become the principal ladder for our individual aspirations (this is what Michael Young means by his image of the rise of the meritocracy) and for our social ones. It is also our scapegoat, made to do penance for much that we think amiss. Thus, if we have juvenile delinquents or "beats," comic-book "readers" and citizen non-voters, education must be at fault. People as intelligent as Hutchins and as aggressive as Rickover quickly say, "Education has failed," if anything they care about is unattended to.

In our society the role of scapegoat falls to groups that seem to be powerful—more powerful than they actually are. Many university professors see educationists as a solid, politically entrenched bloc or lobby that easily lords it over mere legislators, parents, and local taxpayers' leagues. This picture of educators makes it easier to attack them. It is always more daring to attack the strong than to bully the weak. The southern white supremacist in his zeal likes to believe that the NAACP is powerful, and the anti-Semite likes to fancy that the Jews are powerful. But both the white supremacist and the anti-Semite know in their hearts that they risk little in attacking Jews or the NAACP.

To return to education, there may be areas in which teachers' unions or state departments of education have some power, but I am convinced that in general teachers are a vulnerable target. To be sure, a vulnerable minority tends to retreat into itself, to form a defensive alliance, and to end up in intimidating its own members in the name of protecting them from outside attack.

DAVID RIESMAN is Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences at Harvard University (1).

Teachers who follow this course may reject even sensible criticism simply because the critics have not themselves ever taught a class. With the same almost involuntary gesture, teachers may ward off onslaughts on progressive education or any school practices that depart from some idealized memento of a classical curriculum.

The steady flow of criticism is having an important influence on our schools, but in the long run another force that is at work may be more important than the current waves of criticism. I am speaking of the mounting difficulty students face in getting admitted to college. High schools, especially in the East, are being judged more and more by their ability to get their graduates into good, which usually means name, colleges. This pressure is giving colleges an increasing leverage over the high-school curriculum. For some years, I have been asking secondary-school principals whether this circumstance has curbed their freedom to experiment. Most of them have told me that it has not, although recently I have been getting the impression that experimentation is taking second place to college preparation.

Frank Bowles, the perceptive president of the College Entrance Examination Board, recently observed that secondary education is coming completely under the control of the colleges. He went on to say that the period in which the high schools developed innovations in an effort to assimilate their new mass constituencies is coming to an end.

Quite apart from the pressures that the colleges are exerting, it is doubtful that many schools are disposed to try experimentation today. The innovative ideas or the courage to apply them is lacking. At any rate, it seems, especially in the East, that only two kinds of schools have much leeway to take chances. At the top there are a few wealthy private schools whose students are so capable that they will get into the colleges they choose in spite of a few school practices that depart from the norm. At the bottom there are the poorest high schools whose students hardly ever go on to college and never or hardly ever to a college that selects its entering class.

If I understand James B. Conant, he would like to see a comprehensive high school with two tracks, one track alert to the demands of the colleges and the other to the demands of the more vocationally oriented students or the students who are not bound for college. Of course, we already do have such schools, but as the percentage attending college rises to nearly half the high-school graduating class, the climate of the high school is likely to be shaped by the college-preparatory courses and by the highly visible students in those courses.

It should be pointed out that the colleges themselves are not uniformly opposed to experiments in secondary education. Rather, as places in the selective colleges become more and more precious, parents and teachers will become wary of taking any chances, especially with that small but important group of students for whom college is the gateway to a graduate school. Even a well-intentioned college admissions officer will hesitate to take a chance on applicants whose high-school program was not commensurate with programs he is familiar with. He will be all the more reluctant if he is already having to turn down the sons of powerful alumni or faculty members: he feels safer if he can go by the numbers. For a hundred years colleges have struggled to end the terribly uneven and often scandalously inadequate preparation for advanced study. Now the seesaw is tipping their way.

In this situation, it looks, to oversimplify matters vastly, as if we shall have two high-school programs. One, very much in the national spotlight, will be regarded as the first step in the preparation of specialists allegedly useful in national defense. I should here make clear my conviction that in this age of atomic and biological warfare the country is greatly threatened by what in most quarters is regarded as national defense. To be sure, "defense" has proved a highly elastic semantic cover for many valuable educational programs which only a Philadelphia lawyer could link to the Pentagon. Even the humanities can lay claim to defending something; and few may be fooled and many only slightly corrupted by measures

to get financial support for schools in the name of defense or of competition with the Soviet Union. But these measures will serve primarily to sift students into specialties, particularly specialties like engineering and the sciences. These fields have gadgets that can be attractive to adolescents and an atmosphere that can be readily dramatized to a high-school audience. They can often be taught demar. lingly and well by a teacher who can serve as an appealing model for adolescent boys.

Parents concerned about their children's careers will vote money for such programs locally, despite the general tendency (noted by Kenneth Galbraith) of consumers in our society to prefer private to public goods and services and thus to starve the schools while enriching industry. Aspiring parents, indeed, will cluster more and more in suburbs where their taxes can go to improve the schools, not for poor relief or traffic control or other problems of big cities.

The other high-school program we are likely to have will be a more or less terminal course for students who are not taking part in the college-preparatory program. The second program will not necessarily be any worse than what we have now. It will be marked by inadequacies and by the lack of prestige of its curriculum and its products. It will suffer from shortages of all sorts, but not always from a shortage of teachers. For, as a study carried out under Everett C. Hughes at the University of Chicago indicated, many graduates of teacher-training institutions do not want to teach bright youngsters who are the children of college-educated parents or of parents who take it for granted that their children will go to elite colleges.

Such teachers are often aware of the limitations, social and intellectual, in their own backgrounds. They find it easier to teach in a nice lower-middle-class neighborhood where the parents have had no more than a high-school education and where the children are docile and conscientious, but not notably ambitious or aggressive. Such a climate is hardly inspiring, but it can be pleasant; and it is understandable why many teachers prefer it, not only to the climate in upper- and upper-middle-class schools but also to the climate in slum schools. In the upper- and upper-middle-class schools educated

parents may snub the teacher and put pressure on the school for more efficient college preparation. In a school in the slums—where the pupil population is Negro, Puerto Rican, or white, or an explosive mixture—only enormous dedication or case-hardened cynicism can get the teacher through the day.

Thus, the outlook, to put it most bleakly, is for routine and defeated mediocrity on the one side and for “national defense” rigidity and unadventurous snobbery on the other.

What are some of the avenues we might take if we wanted to change this prospect?

When I consider slum schools, I am always struck by how much must be done to cross the gap, often generations wide, between two cultures: the enlightened upper-middle-class college-trained culture and the lower-class culture of tenement and street. To mediate between these worlds requires the same order of patience and devotion that counselors at the University of Chicago Orthogenic School, a residential school for disturbed children, muster to thaw out autistic or otherwise psychotic children. Perhaps in some ways the task of the slum school is more difficult, for residential schools like the Orthogenic School can to some degree isolate the children from their home settings, while the school in the slums is a barely tolerated part-time affair, subject to an inner as well as an outer truancy. Moreover, the goal of an institution for disturbed children, while not unequivocal, is to make them less disturbed. But what is the goal of a school in the slums? To discover a few rough diamonds and pass them on for further polishing? To keep the children out of trouble, at least now and then? To inculcate middle-class morality, such as it is? We have scarcely any models of lower-class life, either romantic or sordid, to hold up for young people—only models of life outside the class.

Even so, something can be done for children who are victims of poverty and cultural isolation. Something can be done to acquaint them with a less parochial version of American culture, without alienating them unduly from their own. What is happening in Junior

High School 43 and the George Washington High School in New York City is an illustration of what can happen.

Here a group of Puerto Rican children, many of whom have been "unable" to learn English, hold on to Spanish, the one hallmark of distinction available to them. If they speak English, they may be mistaken for Negroes. Many of these children have never gone to a museum, a concert, or a play. A number of bilingual teachers are now working with these boys and girls, taking them to plays and museums, trying to meet them on their own terms and gently make them part of the larger society of the school with its English-speaking pupils and teachers.

I am told that this program has reduced juvenile delinquency in the neighborhood and salvaged some of the children for high school and, I would expect, for education beyond high school. I imagine that the program has also salvaged some teachers who would otherwise have joined the ranks of the defeated and the cynical in the blackboard jungle schools or fled such schools for greener pastures. Indeed, I am convinced that a great many teachers would respond to the kind of opportunity these New York City schools offer. They await only an inspiring principal who could give leadership, example, and protection, and a community that would give not only financial support but interest and respect. We need many more such experiments before we can grasp what the difficulties are and what the opportunities may be.

For some time I have been urging another kind of experiment which, as far as I know, is not being carried on anywhere—namely, public boarding schools modeled on the selective and specialized high schools of New York City, such as the High School of Music and Arts, the Bronx High School of Science, or Hunter High School. There are many communities in this country where the tax base and the civic spirit are such that even heroic efforts are not likely to create a first-rate high school. Most of the parents may not know the difference between a quality education and one that gives children the minimum and most meager fare, for if there were a larger number

of discerning parents, they would eventually make their own high standards felt in the curriculum of the high school. If they had the ability to exert such influence, the community would be different to begin with. A few parents and children may be geographic captives of their school district: they may lack not only the money to consider a private boarding school, but the values also.

If the children remain in the district, only the rare ones are going to find or retain serious intellectual or artistic interests. We all know that college comes too late in life to salvage some children. This is true even if the children come from a family that has ambitions for them, even if the children have the luck to meet a challenging teacher who makes demands beyond those of the peer-group norm. For, as we all know, neither parents nor teachers of adolescents can do much to compete with extra-curricular activities inside and outside the school building: a boy with a little money (easily earned in a part-time job) or a girl with a little looks (made visible perhaps as a drum majorette) can do more to set the tone of a school than any single family or any single teacher.

When I presented a proposal for a public boarding school several years ago in a talk at the annual meeting of deans of students and other guidance personnel in New York State, I was told that I was striking at the very idea of the comprehensive high school. Parents who had the alternative of sending bright children to a public boarding school, my critics protested, would thereby weaken the local high school still further.

I confess that I do not understand these criticisms. Granted that many high schools are now beyond hope, disappointed parents marooned in the school neighborhood are not going to change the tone of the school. They will move if they can. Or they may join the Catholic Church to gain access to a parochial high school, as Negroes ambitious for their children occasionally do. Or they may resign themselves and their children to fate.

I favor the comprehensive high school where the community is rich and variegated enough to support it. But even an institution one favors needs competition and alternative models to grow and become

better. What harm could there be in starting a public boarding school and seeing what it can accomplish, both in its own right and as an example of excellence?

I am not making this proposal in the belief that our private schools have found satisfactory answers to the problems of a changing adolescent world. For I doubt that even our most distinguished private schools have succeeded here. At some of these schools, the goal for which a few of the best suburban and urban public schools strive is nearly in sight—a goal of the supremacy of academic values. The students in these schools, as I indicated earlier, are college bound and college bonded. Many are serious and studious. They look ahead to college and to their future after college. Many are taught by able and lively teachers who know how to stir the love of abstractions that some boys have. These teachers are aided by the new mathematics and science programs that are being developed at such institutions as the University of Illinois and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Many mediocre high schools would be delighted if they could produce anything like the academic orientation of these pace-setter schools. Critical as I am, even I am delighted with their products at times!

But at other times I am less happy. Academic values are not necessarily intellectual values, and often academic values can be decidedly illiberal. This is true, not only in the obvious case of the sciences when they are taught in a narrow way, but in the less obvious case of English and history when they are taught pedantically and pretentiously.

One danger in such a setting is that a young person will decide too soon what he is good at, and often he will decide in favor of what he is rewarded for doing. He will then be encouraged to concentrate on developing what have become defined as his strengths, which are also the strengths of the school in its competition for places in college and in the life of the eminent after college. If the student is good in physics, for instance, he will be moved ahead at his own pace. In his last year or two of high school he will take college-level

courses. Perhaps he will win a national scholarship or a science-fair award and be catapulted into college to pursue the same sort of program. This might be a blessing if colleges guaranteed every student a second chance to re-examine his qualities and aims. Some colleges do give students this opportunity. But many schools and colleges conspire to exploit scholars much as they have exploited athletes. Before a young person has had a chance to explore his potentialities to the full, they captivate him by furnishing him with a premature but clear and visible image of his place in the intellectual or athletic firmament, and then rewarding him for fitting into that place.

Such leading from strength may rob students of the possibility of discovering other areas in which they may not be so well equipped, but which may nevertheless be more relevant for them in the slow growth toward maturity. Guidance people are sometimes sensitive to the dangers of one-sided exploitation—but they are sometimes insensitive, as when they are satisfied with a mechanical performance and when they can match a profile of revealed abilities against a chart of available careers.

Teachers, too, are sometimes quite insensitive, misled by their pleasure at finding a student who shares their own specialized interests. Such teachers cannot distinguish between temporary discipleship and permanent captivity; sometimes they need the student's enthusiasm to refresh their own. Our society is full of physicists burned out at thirty-five and physicians burned out at fifty, men whose intellectual capital has been eroded for quick gains and who feel it is too late to change and discover a field closer to their heart's desire.

The man who is left with the husk of a career is not the only victim. Society, too, suffers from the erosion of the most precious human resources, the gifts of individual bent. As I implied at the outset, much of the present criticism of our schools comes from people who want a specific product from our schools—more and better engineers or scientists, more and better linguists or citizens, or, occasionally, even more and better humanists. But in an affluent society

like ours—which manifests no better idea for handling its surplus than to turn much of it into armaments, shipping obsolescent items to Latin American or Asian dictators to keep them and their American advisers in power—it is obvious that many “needs” are artificial, even when they are not artificially created by the stockpiling of people. Along this line, our schools and colleges will continue to turn out people capable of exploiting their own and others’ “needs” on behalf of an endless race of production and consumption. In order to discover and rediscover more humane purposes, new social inventions are required, and, correspondingly, young people must prepare themselves for destinies that can scarcely be imagined at the present time (2).

Undoubtedly, the schools will continue to obey the powerful mandates of people who want the schools to turn out more people like themselves, with all the functional and efficient fragmentations we now regard as education. Undoubtedly, the schools will fail in this objective, less because they possess a clear image of a different role, and a less constricting definition of education, than because inefficiency and the sabotage of the students prevent the schools from achieving any clear objectives whatever.

But the schools are also an interest group with a modest power not only of resistance but of redefinition. This power can be used, less to strengthen this or that sinew of defense or the economy and more to alert the students to the possibilities of their gifts and of what life might become for them.

For the great middle range of students, the high school serves neither to draw them out of the deep underprivileges of the slums nor to send them on to professional rank (and often narrowness) and high privilege. The high school has, as many colleges do, a mildly liberalizing and socializing impact. It develops a certain poise and keeps the young out of the labor force. Only rarely does the high school develop any genuine commitment to culture; it is not only anti-intellectual (as are many high-pressure academic schools)

but anti-academic as well. This is seldom by design. Rather, the high school, in spite of its best efforts, convinces many youngsters that Culture with a capital C is not for them. Sometimes students leave high school persuaded that culture is only for spinsters or sissies. A large proportion of their teachers have not formed any close connection with ideas or the arts. To form such a connection was not one of their reasons for becoming teachers, and their own teachers in turn had little such connection or knew how to communicate it.

High culture in this country has traditionally been linked with a specific supposedly humanistic curriculum and has been carried largely by the upper social strata and, within those strata until recently, by women. What the prospective school teacher (who, as studies show, comes largely from the lower-middle or upper-working class) brings to her own education is not culture in this sense. In the course of her schooling, she loses some of her own background of values and acquires a certain legacy of respectability. But at best she can claim middle-brow, not high-brow culture.

To be educated in our society often means to compartmentalize or repress one's childhood experiences, values, and tastes, rather than to understand and extend them. Thus, many teachers come to be cut off from their own past and from the core of popular culture. At the same time they do not form sure attachments to fashionable or avant-garde concerns. We also find teachers—and of course many pupils—who refuse to make this jump and who remain fixed at the childhood level. They never read a serious book after their formal education is over and find rationalizations in their weariness and overwork for not making any continuing artistic or intellectual effort.

For some years Marshall McLuhan, of the Department of English of the University of Toronto, has been urging that this divorce between the official and academic culture, and the popular culture might be combatted by encouraging teachers of English to discuss with their students the conventions of the popular media—TV, advertising, non-“art” movies—with the same intense scrutiny that the “new criticism” devotes to the traditional classics. Along with Patrick

Hazard who has been writing to the same effect in *Scholastic Magazine*, Marshall McLuhan envisages high-school teachers leading a discussion one day about the rhetoric of *Gunsmoke* and the next about *Macbeth*—without any initial assumption that one is necessarily higher than the other.

The hope of such a program would be, on the one hand, to widen the range of experience and awareness for students and teachers alike and, on the other hand, by showing that certain aesthetic standards are applicable to both popular culture and high culture, to lessen the tendency to regard one's school-acquired culture as having no connection with one's native culture. At best, we could become more integrated and more democratic without succumbing to mass culture uncritically or without rejecting it uncritically. There are obvious dangers in such a course. Some teachers will assume that the only TV programs that can be discussed intelligently are *Omnibus* and other dutifully "educational" telecasts. Other teachers will be glad for an excuse to get paid for doing what they do too much of anyway. They will merely come to terms with students who already spend three hours a day inattentively watching TV or listening to their favorite disc jockey. For the latter, it will be a "gut" course, at once deprecated and enjoyed, rather than a course which goes to the guts of our common life.

I have already suggested that life is split down the middle by the distinct cultural spheres of the sexes. True, women are no longer confined to domesticity and weepy novels, but their access to the world of science, technology, and politics frequently remains peripheral and unserious. In many high schools, mathematics and science are for boys; and the premium on a standardized femininity means that a girl who becomes interested in science and a career, rather than in English and a job, may feel out of place (3). Likewise, there are high schools and even colleges where young men feel that the world of art, child care, and avowed emotions belongs to women. One result is that, despite earlier and more companionable dating, men and women do not become as good companions for each other in

and out of marriage as they might be. Our society remains fissured along a line that is only marginally defensible on psycho-biological grounds. I am not saying that the sexes should have identical, homogenized interests, but rather that sex should not serve as a basis for exclusion, any more than race or class. There are more possibilities for overlap, polarity, and mutual understanding than our school practice inculcates.

It may have become clearer by now what I myself regard as one of the main tasks of education—namely, that of connection. Education should be concerned with connecting us with the past (including our personal past), with other cultures outside this country, and with the great variety of subcultures in the United States. Hopefully, too, education can help us to live in an unanticipatable future and at the same time help to shape that future in terms of our best traditions and our best selves.

But the establishment of these connections is the task of the whole society, not of the schools alone. The task has to be undertaken at all levels and by all agencies of cultural diffusion, including the home, before success at any one level is possible. The task is by its nature unending—one that goes on within each of us as we seek to establish connections within ourselves as whole men and women—hence, to become models of wholeness for our children, our circle of friends, and those whom we have the luck to teach.

NOTES

1. This paper is developed from an address at the Convocation of the Rhode Island College of Education, April 24, 1959. I am indebted to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant facilitating my study of higher education.

2. "Abundance for What?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, XIV (April, 1958), 135-39.

3. For further discussion, see my article, "Permissiveness and Sex Roles," *Marriage and Family Living*, XXI (August, 1959), 211-17.

Pedagogic Milieu and Development of Intellectual Skills

In education, as in other fields, fashions come and go. In controversial matters fashions are often confined to words, and certain key words are used as a kind of exorcism.

In 1954, during the senior author's last visit to the United States, he heard very little about gifted children. But in about 1955 widespread controversy over provision for the more creative pupils began to develop. Today the words *talented* and *gifted* often crop up in the columns of newspapers and magazines. And the other day there was a national conference on talent-hunting, all of which suggests that the life of the talented is going to be hard in the United States.

In Sweden, too, certain words arouse emotion. The debate over selective and comprehensive schools revolves around two highly charged words: *differentiation and unitary*. As is widely known, European schools are commonly dual. That is, the compulsory mass school and the college-preparatory secondary school run parallel at least for several years. In certain countries, like Germany, the number of years is fairly large, while in Norway there is almost no overlapping.

In many countries attempts to establish a unified public school for all children irrespective of their later careers have been seen as an essential part of the democratization process. But experience has revealed that the school system is so highly institutionalized that changes in it lag far behind changes in the economic and the social structure of the society.

TORSTEN HUSÉN is director of the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, University of Stockholm. NILS-ERIC SVENSSON is assistant to the director.

Resistance to attempts to abandon the parallel system stems partly from the traditional congruence between this system and the social-class system. In May, 1959, when a school commission in Western Germany reported on the future organization of the Federal system, the arguments given for retaining a three-pronged system were mainly social. The Gymnasium, the arguments went, should prepare students for the university; the middle school should train students for such occupations as middle-rank officials; and the school "for the people" should offer a general education mainly for those who would enter manual occupations.

The pattern of schools that prevails in western Europe must be characterized as selective and dual. Since the number of places in the college-preparatory schools is limited, admission must be competitive. In England transfer from primary to secondary school depends on the eleven-plus examinations, which consist of intelligence tests, achievement tests, and interviews. In Sweden children are admitted to the lower stage of university-preparatory schools, or *realskola*, on the basis of standardized classroom marks.

The emotional and social consequences of this selection system will not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the arrangement causes much anxiety and frustration. Children must compete intensively at the age of ten or eleven. This competition has unfortunate effects on mental hygiene and detrimental repercussions on teaching. The attrition rate in the university preparatory school is appallingly high.

In 1950 the Swedish national parliament passed an education bill which provided that the various types of schools covering the first nine years were to be replaced by a unified or comprehensive school. The final shape of this school was to be determined by the results of experimentation lasting about ten years. The 1950 legislation rested on extensive deliberation. The 1940 School Committee alone turned in ten reports totaling four thousand pages.

The co-ordination of the elementary school and the *realskola* has

been a controversial issue since the eighties. After 1927 pupils might transfer from Grade 4 in the elementary school to the first grade in the five-year *realskola*. In 1946 a Parliamentary School Commission was appointed to consider the work of the 1940 School Committee and to revise its proposals. In its main report of 1948 the Commission arrived at a drastic solution of the transfer problem: the *realskola* should disappear as a separate school type and be incorporated into a unified or comprehensive nine-year school. Thus the dual system was abolished.

Under the new system pupils are to remain together during the first eight years. Thereafter they are to be allocated to one of three distinct tracks. One group is to prepare for Gymnasium. Another group is to enter pre-vocational training. And the children in the third group are to round off their general education. In view of the difficulties of teaching children who differ widely in abilities and interests, the Commission suggested homogeneous grouping on the basis of elective subjects in Grades 7 and 8.

The comprehensive school now embraces more than a fourth of the pupil population and in due course will be extended throughout Sweden. It represents a sharp break from a powerful tradition, for it had long been regarded as self-evident that a separation of the intellectual goats from the sheep must occur early in the child's school career.

The 1946 Commission carried out research to determine the relation of theoretical to practical aptitudes. Many of the arguments for and against early separation stemmed from diverse interpretations of the Commission's findings, though the grounds for some positions were mainly social or purely pedagogical.

The key word in the arguments is *differentiation*. To most people *differentiation* means the problem of handling pupils who have university potential or are at least capable of profiting from Gymnasium training. The word, of course, has many other connotations. We make a distinction between organizational differentiation and pedagogical differentiation. Organizational differentiation refers to the structure of a school system, which may be unilateral, multilateral,

or comprehensive. Pedagogical differentiation is carried out within the organizational framework of a school and includes such measures as streaming, ability grouping, division of classes into subgroups, and individualized instruction within the class.

Arguments on both sides of the question of early organizational differentiation have been cited. The following arguments have been cited in favor of early organizational differentiation:

The best intellects must be cultivated early if they are to develop; this principle implies separate classes or various types of schools.

Able children are bored and inhibited by less able classmates.

In heterogeneous classes, the teacher is compelled to neglect both the able and the slow learners.

Children bound for theoretical and practical vocations can be distinguished with sufficient accuracy even at age ten or eleven.

National well-being requires the development of all talents and accelerated and intensive training for the few who have unusual talents.

A spirit of inquiry and intellectual discipline flowers only in the academic type of school.

With early differentiation, the road to the university will be shorter and less costly for many children.

The following arguments have been offered for postponed selection and for a comprehensive system:

Early selection runs the risk of error; it excludes some children from the kind of education that is most suitable for them.

At age ten or eleven children do not have an extensive appreciation of career possibilities. As a result, the school must rely mainly on academic criteria for selection.

Early selection foreordains those who continue in elementary school to manual occupations, while those who go to academic secondary schools can expect to enter the higher occupations.

While children improperly selected for the academic school may be transferred out of that school, few are allowed to transfer into the academic school.

A comprehensive school with later differentiation encourages social and cultural unity and discourages elitist arrogance.

The comprehensive school with later selection recruits more lower-class children into the academic type of secondary education, thereby loosening social stratification.

The merits of the foregoing arguments depend on the selective criteria used. In Sweden the debate has centered on "efficiency." Is the comprehensive school more efficient than the selective school? The question has been discussed without clarifying the values implied in this loosely stated criterion. Moreover, evaluative instruments have been almost totally lacking.

Once the criteria for evaluating a certain type of school have been stated, suitable measuring instruments can be applied to subject the contentions to empirical test. American research studies in this area have been concerned mainly with homogeneous and ability grouping, but the findings have not been conclusive (1). To obtain more decisive results from studies of various schemes for grouping pupils, researchers would have to set up experiments in which the children were systematically assigned to different experimental conditions.

Sjöstrand recently proposed such an experiment for the schools of Uppsala (2). At the end of Grade 4 children were to be ranked according to their marks, which in Sweden are standardized by means of nationwide achievement tests. Each child above the mean was to be assigned at random to a class of able pupils or to a class that had both able and less able pupils. The same plan was to be followed for children who ranked below the mean. Beginning with the fifth year of schooling, the allocation was to yield three types of classes: classes of able pupils only, classes of both able and less able pupils, and classes of less able pupils only. In this way the researcher would compare the influence of segregated classes and integrated classes on the more able and the less able pupils.

The school authorities did not approve the experiment. Parents of both the able and the less able pupils were likely to protest. Parents

of the able pupils could be expected to object to having their children assigned to heterogeneous classes, and parents of the less able children could be expected to object to having their children put in retarded classes.

Any study that does not permit manipulation of pupil assignments suffers from reduced control of some factors. It does not suffice to control the factors of intelligence and achievement at the beginning of the period of observation. Motivation, social ambition, and other selective factors may also influence allocation; however, these can to some extent be controlled by social class.

At times administrative decisions yield groupings that are not strictly random but still exclude self-selection, thereby enabling the researcher to control many factors. A fortunate opportunity of this kind occurred in Stockholm in 1955.

In 1954 the city council decided to introduce comprehensive schools in the southern part of the city, while the dual system was retained in the northern section. In another connection, the Division for School Experimentation of the Royal Board of Education had given all pupils in Grade 4 an extensive battery of tests: intelligence tests, standardized achievement tests, and a test to disclose attitudes toward future schooling. In addition, "grade points" for Grade 4 and data on social background were collected. By competitive selection on the basis of school marks pupils were placed in separate schools.

The plan provided a unique opportunity to study the effect of creaming off the most able pupils. It was possible to compare the outcomes of instruction in Grades 5 and 6 for three groups: first, the group of pupils selected for the *realskola* (academic secondary school) in the northern part of the city; second, the group of pupils in the southern part of the city of the same ability and social background who remained in undifferentiated classes; third, the children in the northern section who were allocated to reorganized classes after the most able pupils had been taken away.

In this report these three groups are designated as follows: (a) "plus select," or the academic classes of superior pupils, (b) "minus

select," or the pupils who remained after the pupils in the first group were removed, and (c) undifferentiated, or the classes with no kind of grouping.

In due course these three groups will be compared periodically through the ninth grade of school, but as yet only the results for the first two years have been analyzed. Since most children remain in school until age sixteen, they can be followed for five years under quite different pedagogical conditions.

The experimental conditions were not ideal, however. Allocation of the less able pupils was almost completely controlled, for they were given no choice. But in the northern part of the city pupils with a sufficient number of grade points were eligible for the academic school: these pupils had a choice, though a minority (mainly from working-class homes) did not take advantage of their good marks to apply for admission to the *realskola*.

We were not particularly interested in comparing the number of facts pupils absorbed in content subjects, for obviously the plus-select classes would be superior. We were interested in determining the effect of various types of pedagogic homogenization on skills in the three R's and on abilities measured by conventional intelligence tests. But the study had to be confined to the cognitive domain, since the tests that the eleven thousand children took in Grade 4 were in the cognitive domain.

In a previous study 613 pupils were followed up for ten years (3). It was estimated that academic, as contrasted to elementary-type schooling, made a difference of about ten points in the children's intelligence quotients. Applying more adequate statistical techniques to the same data, H rnqvist (4) found a difference of fifteen points.

For retesting in the fall of 1956 we decided to use the tests that had been given in the spring of 1955. For administrative and financial reasons we could restudy only about 20 per cent of the original pupils. We decided to use the class as the sampling unit. We included 144 undifferentiated classes, 96 plus-select classes, and 86 minus-select classes. The total number of pupils was 2,755. The undifferentiated

group was oversampled because it covered the whole range of abilities, and we wanted to have sufficient numbers of pupils at the extremes for comparison with the other two groups. Since the tests had to be given during several class periods, there was some shrinkage because of illness and other reasons. The totals therefore differ somewhat for each test, but in all from 80 to 85 per cent of the pupils were tested.

Because of the influence of social background on the selection of the school, the children were grouped by social class. The upper group comprised children whose parents were in the professions and in the higher executive positions; the middle group included children whose parents were in other white-collar occupations, and the lowest group was made up of children whose parents were manual workers. The percentage distribution of upper-, middle-, and lower-class parents, respectively, among the three sets of pupils was as follows: minus select: 10, 38, 52; undifferentiated: 7, 35, 58; plus select: 34, 46, 20; total sample: 13, 37, 50.

Selection on the basis of school marks at the age of eleven clearly worked in favor of children from more privileged homes. Only a fifth of the children who entered *realskola* came from lower-class homes despite the fact that these make up half of the families in Stockholm.

The second report of the 1940 School Committee presented considerable information on the social background of pupils in *realskola* in 1938. For the three largest cities in Sweden—Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö—the percentage distribution of pupils by social class was: upper class, 20; middle class, 61; and lower class, 19. In spite of a large increase in enrolment in the *realskola*, the change in the social background of the pupils enrolled over the intervening period was not great. Competitive selection at the age of eleven, one infers, is largely a selection according to social status.

The battery of tests for retesting included the following:
Dureman-Ahlström Group Intelligence Test for Grade 5

This test is made up of directions, concepts, antonyms, labyrinths, number series, analogies, problems in spatial relations and arithmetic.

Reading Comprehension I and II

Test I is made up of short paragraphs or sentences, at the end of which the pupil must supply a missing word. Test II consists of paragraphs. Pupils are to draw conclusions and underline the answer of their choice.

Structurization

In this test pupils were required to point out defects in given sentences.

Spelling

The children were asked to write test words from dictation.

Approximations

Certain operations were given—for example, 45×65 or $258 + 135$ —and the pupils were to choose the most reasonable answer.

Arithmetic computations

Raw scores were transformed into nine-point standard scores, or stanine scores. The data presented in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 are shown in these units. The transformation facilitated the processing of the data and made achievement in all tests comparable. One disadvantage, not important for this report, is that the gain in performance that resulted from maturation independent of schooling cannot be ascertained.

To decide on an appropriate statistical technique, the project was regarded as an experiment in which we had initial and final scores for three groups that had experienced three distinct educational milieus. If the groups had been established randomly at the beginning of the treatment, our statistical task would have been simply to compare the final scores of the three groups by means of usual tests of significance or analysis of variance. If we assume that spontaneous maturation affected achievement equally in the three groups at given levels of initial intelligence and social status, the terminal differences could be attributed to the influence of the three milieus. But since it is possible that two groups were established by pro-

cedures correlated with social factors, other methods of treating the data had to be chosen. Four possible methods come to mind:

First, the groups might have been classified by initial score and compared on the basis of final scores. Unfortunately, this method suffers from the weakness that the so-called regression effect is different on various levels of performance.

TABLE 1

RESULTS OF SIGNIFICANCE TESTS AS TO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS* AND SOCIAL CLASSES

Variable	Subgroups (Kind of Schooling)	Upper Class	Middle Class	Working Class
Group intelligence test	P+++U+M†	P=U=M	P=U=M	P++U++M‡
Reading Compre- hension I	P+++U=M	P=U=M	P=U=M	P=U=M
Reading Compre- hension II	P+++U=M	P=U=M	P++U=M‡	P+++U=M
Structurization	P+++U=M	P++U+M‡	P++U+M	P+++U=M
Spelling	U=P=M§	U=M=P	P=U=M	P=U+M
Approximations	P+++U+M	P+U+M‡	P+++U=M	P+++U=M
Arithmetic compu- tations	P=U=M	P=U=M	P=U=M	M=U=P

* In each row or column the experimental group (plus-select, undifferentiated, or minus-select) with the highest corrected mean is put to the left, the next one in the middle, and the group with the lowest corrected mean to the right. The level of significance of the differences between the corrected means has been pointed out in the following way:

+++ indicates significance at the 0.1 per cent level.

++ indicates significance at the 1 per cent level.

+ indicates significance at the 5 per cent level.

P is plus-select group (transferred from elementary school to academic secondary at the age of eleven).

U is undifferentiated group (all students kept together until the age of thirteen).

M is minus-select group (the students in Grades 5 and 6 after selection of the most able).

† If left group is significantly better than the one in the middle, the same degree of significance exists with regard to the right group if nothing else is mentioned.

‡ P+++M.

§ U+M.

|| P++M.

Second, pupils might have been matched, three and three, and average performance measured in the three groups. Apart from the fact that matching presupposes that pupils were allocated under completely controlled circumstances, matching would have shrunk the sample too much. The overlapping in social class and initial scores was not great enough to secure subgroups large enough for comparison.

Third, the difference between the initial and the final score of each pupil could have been determined. This is the method Husén

used in his ten-year follow-up study (5). This approach was rejected in the present study for two reasons. In some tests, there was a considerable "ceiling effect" at the retest. The method therefore would have been unfair to the abler pupils; that is, the effect of the plus-select milieu would have been underestimated. Moreover, the differences would have had a much lower reliability than the separate test variables.

Fourth, analysis of covariance is often used when groups that differ initially in achievement are being compared and when a given procedure will assess the effect of certain methods of teaching. The aim of this method is to correct or to make comparable the final results with due regard to the initial scores. This method was chosen for the study.

Our results are presented in the form of regression lines. We show

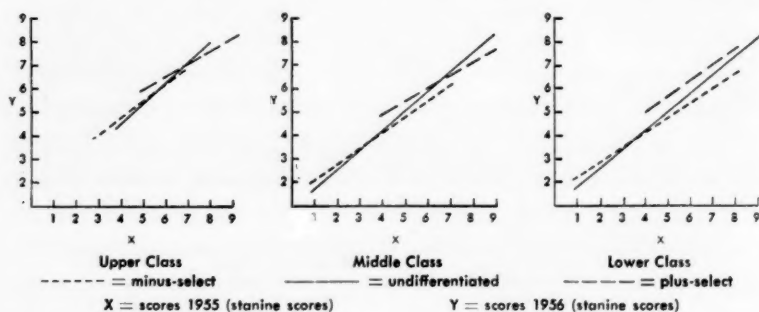


FIG. 1.—Regression lines, group intelligence test

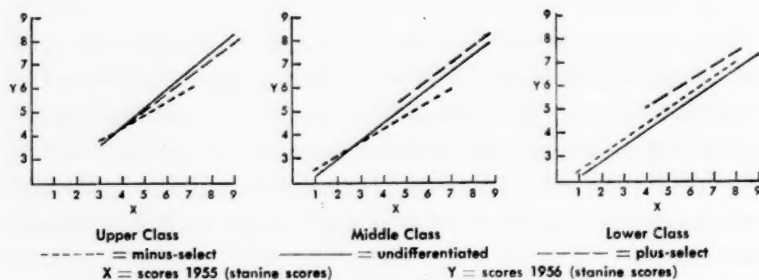


FIG. 2.—Regression lines, Reading Comprehension II

the regressions of final scores (Y) on initial scores (X) for each subgroup. These lines define the most probable final (Y) score that corresponds to given initial (X) scores. The best estimate of the regression is a coefficient b_{xy} derived from the sum of deviations from the means \bar{X} and \bar{Y} within each group. If the regression line of Group A is above that of Group B, one may conclude that, as a result of the treatment, pupils in Group A have improved their achievement more than the pupils in Group B. By the method of covariance, one can test whether the regression lines of the experimental groups differ significantly in level.

In the present analysis we proceeded in two steps. From the covariance analysis we decided whether the final scores of the experimental groups differed after differences in initial test scores had been taken into account. Next we proceeded to analyze differences between groups and levels.

The experimental groups were consistently divided according to social class. Otherwise, the plus-select group would inevitably display larger gains than the other two groups, though we know that a large part of any unrefined difference would be due to extra-school social influences.

For each test variable the covariance analyses were reported in stanine distributions within the three experimental groups cross-classified by the three social-status categories. From these data and the correlations between initial and final scores, regression equations were derived, and the differences between the regression lines tested by covariance techniques.

Because of space limitations, we present only the findings from the group intelligence tests and from Reading Comprehension II.

The relevant comparisons and tests of significance are presented in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2. A few of the salient differences are selected for comment.

In the experimental population as a whole the plus-select classes tended to be superior to the undifferentiated classes, and the latter were in turn superior to the minus-select classes. But these differences

virtually disappeared when the social classes were considered separately. A most important exception was the tendency for pupils in the lower social class to benefit more from transfer to the plus-select milieu than children from either of the other two social classes.

The corrected means in the stanine scale on retest in the intelligence test for the three experimental groups within the lower social class were: plus-select, 4.91 (better than undifferentiated; $P > 0.01$); undifferentiated, 4.54 (better than minus-select; $P > .01$); minus-select, 4.32. The children from the upper two social strata showed about the same intellectual gain, whether they were in the undifferentiated classes or in the grammar-type classes from age eleven to age thirteen. The children from the more disadvantaged homes responded most noticeably to the more favorable pedagogical milieu.

In Reading Comprehension I the experimental groups showed no significant differences when social status was controlled. But on Reading Comprehension II there was a significant tendency for children from middle- and lower-class homes to respond more definitely to the plus-select milieu. Moreover this tendency seemed to show up more clearly among pupils on the average- or high-achievement levels. This outcome may be due to the enriched opportunities for abstraction and deeper reading.

The two writing tests also showed some significant differences. Thus, skill in structurization developed more in the plus-select milieu. Gains in spelling skill occurred in all three experimental groups for children from the upper- and middle-class homes. Children from the lower class gained more in the plus-select and undifferentiated milieus than they did in the minus-select classes.

In arithmetic approximations, children from all three classes showed more progress when they were in the plus-select class, but there were no significant group differences in computations.

In assessing the influence of social background on academic performance under diverse pedagogic conditions, the following observations stand out:

1. The three educational milieus appear to have similar effects on

children from the upper class (except for structurization and approximations).

2. The results for the middle-class children were similar to those for the upper group, except that abilities measured by Reading Comprehension II also developed more favorably in the academic pedagogic milieu.

3. Children of manual workers profited more from the plus-select milieu in skills measured by the verbal intelligence test, Reading Comprehension II, structurization, and arithmetic approximations.

Thus, children from the culturally less privileged homes responded most strongly to selective academic-type teaching. Children from homes of higher status apparently are receiving full intellectual stimulation outside the school.

What is the common denominator for structurization and approximations, the two areas where skills seem to be definitely influenced by school milieus? Skills in neither area are cultivated specifically at school in the form tested. Each test requires the pupil to have some feeling for what is reasonable or correct, a sort of generalized skill that seems to be a by-product of the plus-select milieu.

In contrast, the minus-select classes tended to be less stimulating than the undifferentiated classes. This effect was particularly noticeable in the intelligence and the approximation tests when social class and initial intelligence were kept constant. There seemed to be no pedagogic advantage in grouping together pupils of average or below-average capacity.

Having tested the significance of differences between the various regression lines, one can proceed to test differences at certain ability levels. Few of these differences were significant, largely because of the few cases in these subcategories. Still, there was a tendency for organizational differentiation to affect able pupils less than the mediocre ones.

These findings are tentative, but if they are confirmed we shall have made a major discovery. The findings would run counter to the opinion held by many educators, at least in Sweden, that it is the

able children who are most hampered by being taught in undifferentiated classes.

It is often asserted that an early transfer of talented pupils to separate classes or schools is essential if they are to make optimum educational progress. This alleged superiority of the selective or academic type of pedagogic milieu is not strongly supported by the present study. Among pupils from the sort of homes that have hitherto supplied most of the pupils in the academic type of school, it is at least no disadvantage to remain with their fellows until age thirteen.

For children who come from homes where there are fewer cultural advantages, the school has a special role to play: it can open new vistas and supply intellectually enriched experiences. In the competition for admission to the academic type of school, children from workers' homes have been greatly underrepresented among those admitted. In England, similar findings have been made by Fraser and by Floud and her associates (6). It is of the utmost importance to ascertain whether this social handicap is diminished when children are selected at a later age. In a forthcoming report we shall be able to throw some light on this problem, since pupils in the southern section of Stockholm have been allowed to transfer to the three- or four-year *realskola* after sixth grade.

Many teachers complain of the lack of motivation among pupils in classes that have been thinned out by removing the more able children. Yet teachers are commonly in favor of this separation because, among other reasons, it is easier to teach homogeneous classes. Unfortunately, we are faced here with incompatible aims. It would seem worthwhile to test the following hypothesis by further research: for pupils of average ability, learning proceeds faster in undifferentiated classes than in negatively selected classes. Certainly homogenization brings little benefit to children in minus-select classes.

The design of the present study has not permitted us to determine what particular features of the contrasting pedagogic milieus brought about the observed differences in learning. Pupils in the plus-select classes have had teachers who were well prepared in subject matter; most of them had what compares to American graduate work in their

field. The other two groups had homeroom teachers with undergraduate training only. One cannot, then, separate the influence of creaming off the abler pupils from the influence of the better prepared teachers. But the undifferentiated and the minus-select classes had comparable teachers; the observed contrasts in learning here must apparently be attributed to the form of grouping.

In assessing the findings of this study, it must be kept in mind that we dealt mainly with those intellectual skills that are the outcome of the three R's; the content subjects were not included. Nor did we concern ourselves with what, on more solemn occasions, are called "less tangible outcomes": cultural sensitivity and socialization, to name two. Trevor Miller of the University of Birmingham in England recently compared selective and comprehensive systems (7) and found some evidence that comprehensive schools promote cultural unity, diminish disparity of esteem between types of education, foster social unity, and develop stronger motivation for further schooling.

The follow-up period for the research in Sweden will end in the spring of 1960. The present report deals with only the first two years, but recent findings for the seventh school year are consistent with those given here.

REFERENCES

1. Ruth B. Ekstrom, *Experimental Studies of Homogeneous Grouping: A Review of the Literature* (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1959).
2. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, "Debatten om enhetsskolan och differentiering," *Svensk Tidskrift*, XLVI (1959), 284-93.
3. Torsten Husén, *Testresultatens prognosvärde* (with a summary in English; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1950).
4. Kjell Härnqvist, "Intelligensutveckling och skolresultat: En follow-up undersökning," *Pedagogisk Forskning*, IV (1959), 57-69.
5. Torsten Husén, *op. cit.*
6. J. E. Floud *et al.*, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity* (London: William Heinemann, 1956). Elizabeth Fraser, *Home Environment and the School* (London: University of London Press, 1959).
7. Trevor W. G. Miller, *A Critical and Empirical Study of the Emergence, Development and Significance of the Comprehensive Secondary School in England with Special Reference to Certain Educational and Social Effects*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, England, 1958.

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

University of Chicago

Adolescence and the Postponement of Adulthood

Adolescence, the transition from childhood to adulthood, consists of a biological constant and a cultural variable.

The biological constant is the period of puberty, from about twelve to sixteen years of age, when the boy or the girl develops into the biologically adult male or female. The timing of puberty varies little under changing conditions of diet and race. It does vary among individuals, presumably because of hereditary differences.

The cultural variable is remarkably varied. In one society, marriage may come close to the end of puberty, at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and the boy may move into the girl's home. There the young couple gradually learn to become responsible parents and workers. For them adolescence may last another five or ten years, being completed when they move into a house of their own. In another society, marriage for a man may not come until he is in his thirties and has an established livelihood and a house for his bride, who is usually much younger. In this case adolescence closes with a late marriage, after the man has spent fifteen or twenty years to become self-supporting.

Marriage does not necessarily mark the end of adolescence. Self-support and the establishment of a separate home are surer signs of the beginning of adulthood. Marriage is a truer mark of the ending of adolescence for girls than for boys. But in societies where girls are married as children, some other event is a better indicator of adulthood.

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST is a professor in the Department of Education and a member of the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago (1).

In contemporary America marriage is often one of the events of adolescence rather than the end of adolescence. In contemporary America the most useful social definition of the end of adolescence is that of self-support. The most useful psychological definition is that of the establishment or achievement of a sense of personal identity.

In a complex modern society such as that of the United States there is a great deal of variety in the ending of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood—variety between social classes and even among individuals of the same social class. There is also a rapid change in this phenomenon. In the United States the rate of change is more rapid and the problems are more visible and more pressing than in most other societies.

Since 1900 there has been a general tendency toward the postponement of adulthood. This tendency is part of the massive movement of modern society toward industrialization and urbanization and is the cause of some of the major maladjustments in modern society, including the disease of juvenile delinquency. These maladjustments are found all over the world wherever urbanization and industrialization are in progress.

Young people can be divided into three groups according to their experience of moving into adulthood. These three groups existed in 1900, as they do now, but in different proportions.

The first group is made up of those who follow a long course of educational training before they become self-supporting. These are the young people who take a four-year college course, at least, and perhaps further graduate or professional training. Since 1900 this group has increased from 4 per cent to 22 per cent of all young men and from one per cent to 12 per cent of young women.

The second group is made up of those who normally take adult roles of self-support at about age eighteen to twenty. The young people in this group complete secondary school and then go to work at steady and satisfactory jobs. Their numbers have risen from 10 or 15 per cent of an age group in 1900 to 50 to 70 per cent today.

The third group is made up of young people who normally are self-supporting and fill adult roles at sixteen to eighteen years of age. They attend school until age fourteen or sixteen, then go to work or get married, seeking to fill adult roles as soon as possible. In 1900 this group made up about 80 per cent of young people. Many of them lived on farms. Today they make up about 20 to 30 per cent of youth. Relatively few of them live on farms.

Under the conditions prevailing in 1900 the first group had a rather long period of social adolescence; for the second group there was a three- to five-year transition period that led rather smoothly into adult roles; for the third group there was little postponement of adulthood beyond the biological end of puberty.

In all societies with a complex division of labor there has been a group of young people who followed a long trail from puberty into adulthood. During the interlude they prepared themselves for the more complex adult positions, which carried high status. Whether they attended the university or learned their work in an apprenticeship in a law office or a business office, they had a long road to follow.

Today this group gets more formal education than before. Larger proportions are going beyond four years of college into graduate schools or professional schools, which keep them in a student role until they are twenty-five or even thirty years old.

The principal change in this group since 1900 is its great increase in numbers. It now includes a fifth of the young men and about a tenth of the young women. This increase in numbers is dictated by the mounting demand of modern society for people with technical training.

Postponement of adulthood puts these young people in a favored economic position. Most of them come from middle-class families that have taught them to postpone immediate pleasures for greater future satisfaction. They see this pattern in their own parents and identify with it. They have learned the art of sublimation of their impulses. The Kinsey studies show that these young people seek

direct sex outlets later and less frequently than young people with less education and with working-class expectations. Until recently they postponed marriage until they were ready to take up an adult work role.

But a considerable number of these young people are now marrying in their early twenties. This means that for this group marriage is a part of adolescence and not the beginning of adulthood. This is probably a useful adaptation to adjust the disparity between biological and cultural realities.

For the young women who marry young men while the latter are still in the stage of social adolescence, the situation is on the whole acceptable. The wife becomes an adult before her husband, by taking responsibility for a home and often by having children. For her this is more satisfactory than prolonging her adolescence by taking jobs that are only makeshifts for her. To follow this course would mean continuing the adolescent dating pattern of her teens, while she waited for her future husband to finish his training.

Thus the dilemma of postponed adulthood is being solved by this growing group of young people, through some combination of sublimation of biological urges with a redefinition of the place and function of marriage in the life cycle.

This account of the causes and results of delayed adulthood for a particular segment of youth may quite rightly be criticized as optimistic. Readers may point out that it is written from a sociological point of view and omits psychological and dynamic consequences that may be damaging to the individual. It is important to ask what the postponement of adulthood does to self-esteem and self-direction, which are essential characteristics of the autonomous person.

In a provocative little book called *The Vanishing Adolescent*, Edgar Friedenberg argues that today the major developmental task of adolescence—the task of self-definition, or achievement of identity—is poorly achieved because adults, and especially secondary-school teachers, do not treat adolescents properly. He says, "Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and

what he really feels. It is the time during which he differentiates himself from his culture, though on the culture's terms. It is the age at which, by becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals perceived clearly as such" (2: 9). At the close of his book he says, "I believe that adolescence, as a developmental process, is becoming obsolete. The kind of personal integration which results from conflict between a growing human being and his society is no longer the mode of maturity our society cultivates" (2: 133).

This argument has much to recommend it, and I shall refer to it in the discussion of the youth of the third group, whose adulthood is blocked. But for the young people in the first group, who have such a long period of adolescence, I doubt that conflict between the youth and his society is necessary for the achievement of self-definition or of self-esteem.

This task is probably most difficult in a changing and fluid society, where *achieved* status is more important than *ascribed* status. In the society of today the individual with good potential and good education has to choose between an almost bewildering variety of possible vocational identities, knowing that he must not only choose but also work hard to achieve the identity after he chooses it. Shall he become a teacher? A lawyer? A doctor? An engineer? If he decides to become an engineer, what kind? And shall he plan to remain a "real" engineer or shall he use his training as a base for going into business management? If he decides to become a physician, what specialty shall he train for? And shall he go into practice, research, or teaching?

Society has declined to tell him what to do. It is up to him to make the decision. The fact that he has a long period of university and post-graduate training or training on the job may make his identity more stable and more permanent than it would be if he had to make a decision at the age of twenty. The process may be long drawn out, and the young person may have to cope with some feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, but as a result he may become a person

with a complex and stable identity that is well adapted to modern society.

The second and largest group at present consists mainly of those who complete secondary school and then go to work. This group also includes a few who quit school a year or so before high-school graduation to take a job and a few others who start college but drop out by the end of the first year.

This group makes a gradual entry into adult roles between the ages of seventeen and twenty. They regard high-school graduation as a necessary step toward the kind of job they want. Their high-school dating leads them rather smoothly toward marriage; more than half of the girls in this group are married by the age of twenty, and more than half of the boys are married by the age of twenty-three. For this group marriage marks the end of adolescence.

About 50 per cent of boys and about 70 per cent of girls are in this group as they grow up.

They are the modal group in a modern urban society. Their social adolescence extends from three to five years beyond their biological adolescence and seems to involve relatively little strain for them.

A three- to five-year postponement of adulthood is easily tolerated as long as the young person is taking steps that surely lead to it, such steps as high-school graduation, apprenticeship to a trade, a steady job with promotion, engagement to be married.

In a modern complex society this type of progress to adulthood would seem to be the easiest, although it is gained perhaps at the expense of individuality, drive, and other upper-middle-class virtues.

In 1900 this group was much smaller than it is today—about 15 per cent of boys and 10 per cent of girls at that time.

The third group consists of boys and girls who find the path to adulthood blocked and experience great difficulty in achieving responsible adulthood. In this group lies most of the social pathology of youth today. It is made up of about 30 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of girls.

These boys and girls generally drop out of school at the age of fifteen or sixteen after a history of failure, frustration, and frequently of bad behavior. Maladjusted to school, many of them are also maladjusted to work and family life, and make little or no progress toward responsible adulthood during the next few years.

Although at present they form a pathological group, in 1900 and during the preceding century they were the average group, with relatively good adjustment. In 1900 this group made up 80 per cent of boys and some 90 per cent of girls. They reached the end of elementary school at age fourteen or fifteen and then went to work, mainly on farms and in homes. Some of the boys became apprenticed to learn a trade. More than half of all boys lived on farms at that time. Those who did not go to the city with a definite vocational objective remained on the farm and became self-supporting farm workers by the time they were sixteen or seventeen.

The adult work role came just as early as these boys were physically ready for it, and marriage came along at that time or a few years later. Girls of this group worked in their own homes or in other people's homes, learning the role of homemaker, and they married in their late teens or early twenties.

For this group in 1900 there was a direct transition from puberty to adult work and marriage roles. The shift was so visible that no young person could doubt where he was and whither he was going, even if he was so unusual as to be five or seven years in the process.

This group has grown much smaller, having lost most of its members to the second group, that group of young people who finish high school and then go to work. It has become a maladjusted group; the young people in it find the pathway to adulthood blocked.

At about seventh or eighth grade the members of this group begin to have trouble in school. They have been slow, dull students. They have known failure. Coming from the wrong side of the tracks, they have known discrimination in social life. They realize that school will be no easy pathway to adulthood for them, as it is for most of their schoolmates.

When they reach the legal school-leaving age, they drop out of school. By this time many of them have a police record for minor delinquency. Others have become apathetic and intimidated, and have lost confidence in themselves.

At this point, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, they are no longer children, but they cannot find their way into adulthood through high school. About two-thirds of them are fortunate enough to break into an adult role by successful work or successful marriage. Those who succeed follow the pattern that was common for this group in 1900 but is difficult for them today. They go to work on the farm or in an unskilled occupation, and they make good at it. By the age of eighteen or nineteen they are well established in a work role which has low social status but is nevertheless an adequate adult role. The girls are likely to be married by this age.

My colleagues and I have been studying this group whose pathway to adulthood is blocked in school. We find that, of some 25 per cent of young people who are in this group, about two-thirds find a quick and fairly satisfactory way to adult roles through work and early marriage. They do so in spite of the difficulty young people under the age of eighteen have getting work in our society. Practically every member of this successful group has a family that has given adequate affection, security, and discipline.

The 8 or 10 per cent who drop out of school and then do not find a way to adulthood through work are indeed the failures of our society. Juvenile delinquency is heavily concentrated in this group. In nearly every case families are inadequate and have not provided their children with a base of character on which to build.

When the boys in this failing group get work, they generally prove to be untrustworthy, or aggressive and hostile, and cannot hold a job for any length of time. Nor are they successful if they enter military service. If they are not rejected on the ground of mental or personal incompetence, they are likely to be let out of the service after a few unsatisfactory months.

A remarkably high proportion of the girls who drop out of high

school get married almost at once. In our study of a cohort of youth growing up in a midwestern city, we found that sixty-seven out of a total of 230 girls dropped out before high-school graduation. Forty-five of them were married by the age of seventeen; eighteen at age seventeen; twenty-one at age sixteen; and six under sixteen years of age. Some of these marriages show signs of being successful. These girls have been able to achieve an adult role after failing in school. Other marriages are already clear failures, leaving the girls with only a pathetic and useless symbol of adulthood.

This tragic group of 8 or 10 per cent of our youth, who are not able to grow up through the school, through work, or through marriage, suffer not so much from postponement of adulthood as from a set of roadblocks that may prevent them from ever achieving adulthood. They will never achieve self-definition or identity. They have had their share and more than their share of conflict with teachers, parents, and policemen. Whether they are apathetic and fearful, or hostile and delinquent, they have been defeated.

Any conclusion about the present condition of youth must be based on an affirmation of values. The following seem most relevant:

1. There is value in a productive adult life as a worker, parent, and citizen. Adulthood should be started fairly early in life, but age twenty-five or thirty is not too late for a person who will lead a complex life. A high proportion of young people will live to be sixty-five or seventy, and will have a forty-year adult career, even if they start as late as twenty-five or thirty.

2. There is value in a self-directed and self-defined life. In a complex modern society a person with high ability is likely to require time to establish his identity and to prepare himself to fill the roles he defines for himself.

3. There is value in adolescence as well as in adulthood. For many young people a long, slow adolescence is a period of great happiness. In an economy of abundance there is no great social need for young people to cut short their adolescence in order to contribute to the economy.

4. There is value in growth toward adulthood. No one can be satisfied with stagnation during adolescence. Young people need assurance that they are growing up, even though growth is slow and complex.

5. There is value in physical sexual fulfillment, and this value is found most fully within marriage. Consequently marriage may very well be a part of adolescence rather than a mark of its termination for young people who need a long time to prepare for roles other than the family roles.

The following conclusions flow from the application of these values to the present-day situation of youth in the United States.

Educational preparation may be profitably accelerated for the small group who will need three or more years of study in a graduate or professional school. These young people might well enter college a year early or do work of college level in secondary school, to save time for their later education.

Marriage should be approved at age twenty to twenty-five for those young people who will need to study until age twenty-five to thirty. However, many of these young people can successfully sublimate their biological impulses and enrich their adolescent life and their adult life thereby.

The great majority of youth, who today complete secondary school and then go to work, suffer no difficulties because of the postponement of social adulthood for three to five years after they achieve biological adulthood. This period of growth into adulthood seems appropriate to them personally and desirable from the point of view of the welfare of society. During the period of adolescence educators and religious leaders should seek to help the members of this group become more self-directed, more clear about their place and their goals in life.

There is a group of some 8 to 10 per cent of youth, more boys than girls, who find the pathway to adulthood blocked. They are failures in school and failures in the world of juvenile work. Some of the girls marry early but do not make a success of marriage. This

group represents a serious social problem for modern society. Juvenile delinquency is heavily concentrated in this group. School and society must somehow find a way to open the pathway to growth for them. The ordinary school and even the special school for maladjusted youth have failed to find the solution. The families of these boys and girls have failed them. This is a problem that requires radical efforts for its solution.

NOTES

1. This article is based on a lecture given on October 27, 1959, at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies in New York City.
2. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959).

Counseling the Gifted Child

For many years counseling in education has popularly been associated with assisting students who face certain special problems. Actually a sound counseling program must be concerned with the education of all students. Counseling services should be routinely available to average and superior students as well as students who are coping with atypical problems. Many educators believe that until recently the gifted student has been neglected. As part of the movement to foster the full development of the gifted, perhaps more attention should be given to the benefits counseling offers these young people.

In 1953 Robinson reported a study that led him to question counselors' interest in talented youngsters. The study involved a questionnaire given to 428 college students, many experienced counselors and teachers among them (1).

The questionnaire presented fourteen brief descriptions captioned Athlete, Bright, Queer, Dumb, Deficient, Engineer, Failing, Gauche, Homely, Ill, Jerk, Kiddish, Loafer, and Medicine. The description for Athlete read: "A natural athlete, even at this grade level is the star in all atheletic events held by the school. Has average intellectual ability and grades to match; has a pleasing personality."

Robinson's subjects were asked to assume that they were members of a school staff and had to decide the responsibility of the guidance program to each of the fourteen students described. Each subject was to assign the fourteen students to one of five categories: "Category O—probably no need for guidance program to work with this student;

GILBERT D. MOORE is an assistant professor of education at the State University of Iowa.

Category 1—routine use was made of conferences; Category 2—special plans made to fit this student's needs with particular emphasis placed on non-conference personal methods; Category 3—special plans—school providing intensive counseling help; Category 4—refer student to some outside agency."

Robinson found that intensive counseling (Category 3) was the response that appeared most frequently for seven of the fourteen descriptions. Robinson noted that all seven descriptions chosen for intensive counseling reflected a deficiency in some way. He wrote, "Guidance workers often rush to counsel pupils who are deficient or below normal in some respects whether the pupils themselves see this or can possibly reach normal standards" (1).

The group felt that the guidance program should take little responsibility for superior students, that is, the athlete, the engineer, and the bright one. For the athlete, the most frequent response was no guidance; for the engineer, routine conference only; and for the bright student, special non-conference methods. "Are we so historically grounded in clinical practice," Robinson asked, "that we can not raise our sights above returning the sick, halt, and ignorant to tolerable levels?"

Stewart gave the questionnaire designed by Robinson to ninety-four counselors and 169 classroom teachers and found a similar pattern in the responses (2). The results of the two studies showed only slight differences in percentages. These findings suggest that counseling is often seen primarily as a remedial process. Evidently many people involved in counseling programs feel that their information and skills can best be used in programs designed to help students who lack aptitude or who for some reason are not able to use their abilities effectively.

Actually, every student can benefit from counseling, and talented students can profit perhaps even more than some of their less gifted classmates.

In this article counseling will be viewed as Froehlich defined it: Counseling provides a situation in which the counselee is stimulated

to evaluate himself and his opportunities; to choose a feasible course of action; to accept responsibility for his choice and for initiating a course of action in harmony with his choice (3).

This definition emphasizes self-knowledge, self-responsibility, and implementation of choices. Through counseling the individual is permitted and encouraged to take responsibility for his own emotional and, to some extent, his own intellectual growth. Through counseling the individual is able to evaluate forces that operate within and upon him and attain new perspective and perceptions. As he learns more about his behavior, he can gain a new basis for changing it. He can free himself of emotional ties and educational blocks and become aware of new ideas and information that will extend his horizons. Counseling can guide the individual to a new view or stabilize his present view. Counseling can help him make more adequate choices and take responsibility for trying to act on his choices.

Counseling offers these benefits to all students. For this reason, counseling and guidance programs should place more emphasis on the development of all students instead of focusing only on students who seem to require remedial help. It should also be recognized that gifted youth are likely to have problems typical of normal youth—problems of occupational choice, vocational or educational planning, and occasional conflicts in interpersonal relations.

Counseling can help the gifted student gain insight into the range and depth of his potentialities. Though he may seem to be equally capable in many subjects and interests, he must eventually make vocational and educational choices. An inclusive guidance and counseling program offers opportunities for a measure of his interest, greater knowledge of what is available to him, and wider understanding of the choices that confront him.

Through counseling the talented student may gain some understanding of how talented he is. It is not enough for a student to know that he is bright. He must have some idea of how bright he is compared with other bright students. It is extremely disillusioning

for a talented high-school graduate to come to a university and find that in competition with large numbers of talented students he does not do so well as he did in high school. His disillusion can result in poor adjustment to college, underachievement, and ultimately failure to use the abilities he does have.

Through systematic counseling in high school, a student can learn about norm groups. He can learn what it means to be at the ninetieth percentile on a test of mental maturity or educational development. He will see that he is doing well in high school where there are few students with comparable scores. He can also come to realize that, if he decides to attend a major university, he will be competing with several hundred other Freshmen, many of whom may be at a higher percentile rank on the same test. The knowledge may give him some understanding of the difficulties as well as the possibilities before him, and he will be better able to decide how to use his time in college and how to take advantage of his talents.

To understand one's talent is important in non-academic areas. A student who shows unusual aptitude in the mechanical arts, for instance, may be led to believe that any machine shop or cabinet shop would be eager to employ him. Counseling offers opportunities for new insight not only into mechanical skills but into personal attitudes and social skills important in a working situation.

It is important for a student to recognize the problems involved in developing his talent. Through counseling he may realize that a career as a concert pianist requires attributes he may not have developed and disciplines he may not be ready to follow. With the aid of a counselor he may come to realize that his talent in music alone may not carry him to the great heights he envisions.

As a student begins to understand his talent, he can be helped to make appropriate choices. The aspiring musician could conceivably develop enough insight to realize that, though he may have the potential talent for greatness, he lacks other essential characteristics. He would then be in a position to decide whether he wanted to risk more intensive study for an uncertain future or whether he would

settle for another goal not so lofty, perhaps, but more in keeping with his knowledge of his talents. Whatever the choice, it would be based on a more thorough awareness of himself.

Through counseling, the gifted student can get help not only in knowing but in using his potentialities. We have been hearing that many gifted students do not continue with further education and training. Our definition of counseling suggests that the student take responsibility for carrying out his choice. Counseling is not effective if it merely helps students identify their talent and develop insight but fails to provide assistance in carrying out choices. The counseling program in the public schools can and should assure gifted students every help in making plans to use their talents.

Counseling can lead to more effective development of a talented student's self-concept. It is not our purpose here to discuss the idea of the self-concept at length. We can say that it is the amount of knowledge about himself and others that a student is able to allow into awareness. It is surprising and sometimes disconcerting to find that the self-concept of a talented student is at times very different from the perceptions others have of him.

A student's concept of himself may be limited by lack of experience, knowledge, and motivation. Generally the gifted student has many talents. But to use them he must understand himself and, above all, understand that he is gifted. There are few experiences more discouraging than to work with a high-school student who has a wealth of talent but does not see himself as talented. For various reasons the student may not be able to admit to himself that he has superior ability in one field or another. Environment, society, family, may militate against his becoming aware of his potentialities. Some high-school boys and girls who have superior intellectual aptitudes that would enable them to do well in almost any vocation see themselves in menial, mundane occupations. They see themselves as barely getting by in school. They think they get good grades without studying hard because school is easy for them, and easy is linked not so much to their ability as to the system or to the ineptness of their peers.

For the talented student who does not see himself as talented, counseling creates a situation where new feelings can be explored. These feelings are not new in the sense of never having been experienced before, but in the sense of the students' being able to speak of them and bring them into awareness. With his high-school counselor the intellectually talented student may for the first time be able to discuss peer pressures that dull any interest he may have in becoming a top-notch student. He may be able to speak openly of what he must do to be accepted as a member of the group that is socially popular in the school. He may learn to express his fears of becoming an egghead or a teacher's pet. He may disclose that he has never had encouragement to pursue his academic talent. His parents, who may be quite content just to see him pass, may give him little encouragement. After counseling, the student may express dissatisfaction with himself for failing to realize that he has more ability than he is using. Perhaps his peers are not accepting him completely because they too know that he has ability that he is not developing. Counseling can provide the opportunity for accepting these discoveries and may offer assistance for the development of his aptitudes. The high-school counselor is in an excellent position to help implement a student's choices by working with his parents or other staff people.

In counseling the student has a chance to talk out his emotions and evaluate them, accepting some and rejecting others. He may become more aware of aspects of himself he has never really known. Certainly after such an exploration his choices can be based on more adequate knowledge of himself.

But he still needs to test his choices. He may say to the counselor, "This is really the way I've been thinking and feeling. Now I see that it may not be the best way." From this point he can explore new avenues, new approaches, report successes and failures, and make other choices if necessary. Counseling does not necessarily result in major changes but may help confirm a student's interest and thinking.

From counseling, a talented student can gain concrete knowledge about his aptitudes. True, students can gain knowledge of their aptitudes through group procedures in guidance, test information from teachers, achievement in classes, and outside activities. Many talented students realize they are talented because they have been successful in school and other endeavors. But can it be assumed that because students have received good grades they have a realistic measure of their intellectual aptitude?

Consider a girl who comes from a small-town high school—a high school of perhaps two hundred and fifty to five hundred students. She is class valedictorian, with practically a straight A average. She wins a small scholarship to the state university, which enrolls one to two thousand Freshmen from all over the state and the country. In this competitive situation she is not outstanding academically. Compared with four hundred high-school students, she is very good and earned A's, but, compared with fifteen hundred talented students, she is only average and must work hard to earn C's and B's. An important part of high-school counseling is to help talented students understand how much intellectual aptitude they have. It gives them more adequate knowledge of themselves, of the group to which they have been compared, and a background for weighing future commitments. In short, sound self-concepts can help students understand the many possibilities and the weaknesses or pitfalls that lie before them.

Essential to adequate choice-making is knowledge of opportunities available to talented students. Many students have an extremely limited view of the world, of vocations, and educational opportunities. Even a glimpse of the gamut of modern-day jobs may amaze the student and open to him some unknown realm that quickens his interest or challenges his creative thinking. Exposed early to diverse vocational possibilities, his interest can be tested, discarded, or sharpened by everyday experiences.

Knowledge of educational opportunities offers some students their first incentive to higher learning. Information on types of institutions,

academic standards, faculty leaders, and means of obtaining a desired vocational goal is important to the gifted, but higher education often raises very real financial problems. Students say, "I can't possibly go to college. I don't have the money." Or "I know I can do the work. I know that I have ability, but my parents can't afford to send me." Or "I don't see how I can possibly go to college. I have no relatives who can afford to send me, and I'm not good enough to win a big scholarship."

The counselor has an opportunity to explore several choices with the student: the choice as to whether he wants to go to college, the kind of college or training institution he wants to attend, as well as the financial opportunities open to him. Students are often unaware of opportunities to finance their education. The task of gathering information on various questions is uniquely suited to the high-school counselor, a task he may effectively and thoroughly exploit through counseling.

Guidance and counseling cannot be concerned with remedial or preventive techniques only. Guidance and counseling can contribute to the development of all students, and certainly talented students can profit no less, perhaps more, than their classmates.

REFERENCES

1. F. P. Robinson, "Guidance for All: In Principle and in Practice," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXI (May, 1953), 500-504.
2. L. H. Stewart, "Teachers and Counselors Look at Students: Some Implications for Guidance Practice," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXV (May, 1957), 565-68.
3. C. P. Froehlich, "Multiple Counseling: A Research Proposal" (mimeographed; University of California, Berkeley).

ROBERT H. ANDERSON

ELLIS A. HAGSTROM

WADE M. ROBINSON

Harvard University

Team Teaching in an Elementary School

In 1957-58 the personnel of Franklin School in Lexington, Massachusetts, were re-organized into four teams. Two of the teams were large, composed of five or six teachers. Two were small, composed of three teachers. The titles *team leader* and *senior teacher* were used to designate teachers who had responsibility for leadership in the teams. Classwork in each team was planned jointly by all team members, and through various redeployment procedures the children were taught in groups that ranged in size from six to more than a hundred. Members of the staff of Harvard University shared with the administrators and the teachers in Lexington in the formulation of program plans and in the analysis of the effectiveness of the program.

The Franklin School Project is a major activity within the School and University Program for Research and Development, hereafter identified by its initials *SUPRAD*. This program involves the school systems of Lexington, Concord, and Newton, Massachusetts, and Harvard University, and is supported in large measure by a ten-year grant from the Ford Foundation. The Administrative Board of *SUPRAD* approved the broad outlines of the teaching teams proposal in May, 1957, and the planning and recruitment proceeded with considerable speed. The planning provided for the following teams of teachers during 1957-58:

ROBERT H. ANDERSON is an associate professor of education and director of elementary school internship at Harvard University; ELLIS A. HAGSTROM is Franklin School Project Coordinator; WADE M. ROBINSON is assistant to the director, School and University Program for Research and Development (*SUPRAD*).

- Alpha: three first-grade teachers (senior teacher in charge)
Beta: six second- and third-grade teachers (team leader in charge assisted by two senior teachers)
Gamma: three fourth-grade teachers (senior teacher in charge)
Delta: five fifth- and sixth-grade teachers (team leader in charge assisted by a senior teacher)

Each team was assigned a part-time clerical aide, and the two larger teams were each assigned a quarter-time teaching assistant. Preparations were completed for the principal and seven teachers to engage in preliminary planning in a six-week summer program under the supervision of Harvard instructors. The program was launched less than two months from the time it was first described on paper.

Among the reasons for establishment of the School and University Program for Research and Development was the belief that public school systems might more easily close the gap between educational ideals and educational realities if they joined with private universities in programs of research and demonstration. Relations analogous to those between medical schools and hospitals were seen as a way toward tough-minded research and unbiased evaluation of new ideas. Among these ideas was the contention that the existing organizational pattern of American schools and classrooms may be inadequate and unsuitable in view of the vast population increase and the severe shortage of professional workers as needs are now defined.

Related to this contention was the belief that too few first-rate people are attracted to teaching, possibly because of the low economic incentives, the low social position of the classroom teacher, and the general inadequacy of supervisory practices and lack of opportunities for professional growth in the typical school. The question was asked: "Would not more first-rate people be attracted to teaching if the economic and social factors were made more attractive and if there were more ready opportunity for professional growth?" Believing the affirmative to be true, SUPRAD set out in the Franklin School to test the feasibility and the effect of a team-teaching organization plan.

Implicit in all efforts to create more attractive conditions (economic, social, and professional) for teachers was the belief that these

would lead to better instruction for children, through more effective performance of the teachers. It was hoped that the team organization would permit more flexible and appropriate grouping arrangements to meet individual interests. It was believed that children would be stimulated by association with larger numbers of children and with more than one teacher. It was expected that teachers would find more efficient and interesting ways of presenting lessons through having larger blocks of planning time and through doing more group planning. It was thought that the pooling of teachers' ideas and observations would lead not only to stronger teaching but to better pupil adjustment and more adequate pupil guidance. These and other benefits were seen as attainable if various administrative problems posed by radical changes in personnel organization could be solved.

The first year of the project was seen as an exploratory year, during which the participants hoped to discover whether a hierarchical pattern of team organization was feasible. The traditional pattern of self-contained classrooms, coupled with a system of uniform and undifferentiated salary and prestige for all teachers, was set aside, and a system was initiated wherein prestige roles and responsibilities were assigned to certain teachers and salaries were adjusted accordingly. The teachers in each team were asked to regard all the children in their team as the mutual responsibility of all. They were asked to plan the educational program jointly under the leadership of team leaders and senior teachers. They were invited to experiment with many kinds of class grouping and instructional techniques, using the physical facilities and the instructional resources of the building in whatever ways seemed appropriate and without regard to conventional definitions of the best class size.

One major objective of *SUPRAD*, and the Franklin School Project in particular, is to discover and to demonstrate new and more promising ways of utilizing teacher competencies. The roles of team leader and senior teacher were set up in an effort to accomplish two purposes: first, to provide rewarding and prestigious roles to which persons of outstanding competence can aspire, roles which (unlike most

supervisory and administrative roles in education) allow teachers to remain in direct association with pupils; and second, to create a collaborative relationship between teachers that offers promise of accelerating and enlarging the development of professional skills and insights. Implied in the latter purpose is that teachers in continuous and intimate association will more readily share their knowledge and express their needs, with the result that each has greater opportunity to learn from and contribute to the others. Hopefully, those persons with the greatest talents and a career dedication to teaching would work toward the prestige roles and through these roles constitute a significant source of strength for teachers of less experience, competence, or dedication.

Another objective of the project is to find more effective means of using the services of non-professional persons in the community and professionally trained persons who are unable or unwilling to devote full time to service in the schools. In the belief that classroom teachers now devote too much time to clerical and minor administrative duties, it was arranged that each team would have about half-time clerical assistance. Partly to compensate the team members for the extra demands that research activities would make on their time and partly in the hope of demonstrating that good use can be made of the part-time professional worker under team conditions, the two large teams were each assigned a quarter-time assistant teacher.

One hypothesis to be tested in the project is that certain kinds of instructional experiences can be at least as beneficial to children when they are taught in large groups (that is, groups that combine two or more standard size classes) as when they are taught under conventional conditions. It was believed that one prerequisite to testing this hypothesis was the development of instructional techniques appropriate to large groups. It was also believed that various content and skill areas probably lend themselves better than others to presentation in large groups. The teachers were therefore asked to develop such techniques and to identify such content, through various exploratory lessons.

The deployment of children in conventional elementary-school situations is usually a static arrangement, each classroom group remaining intact and usually in the same homeroom throughout the day. In departmentalized situations, which are quite unusual below seventh grade, children may move from place to place but the class grouping is usually an unchanging one. Under team-teaching conditions, a number of more dynamic patterns of deployment and re-deployment become possible. For example, children can be left in homeroom groups, homeroom groups (or portions thereof) can be combined in large groups, or children can be exchanged between homeroom groups. It is obvious that teachers, too, can exchange locations and instructional assignments. It remained to be tested, in the Franklin School Project, whether these kinds of redeployment under team-teaching conditions would be both manageable and desirable.

That education is an extremely conservative profession is well attested by the slow rate of its progress and by the meager financial and other support for the research on which intelligent change depends. Teachers themselves hold rather doggedly to traditional beliefs and practices, some of which may no longer stand the test of objective examination. The research worker has an almost inexhaustible mine to probe in education, yet his work is frequently blocked or slowed by the diehard forces of tradition and conservatism.

The Franklin School Project is especially notable because of the many beliefs and practices it has chosen to challenge. Among these are such widely held views as the following: individual professional autonomy, as exemplified in the self-contained classroom, is conducive to professional growth and satisfaction; the assignment of differential rewards, status, and responsibility to teachers will lead to poor morale and low productivity; an intimate and continuing one-to-one teacher-pupil relationship is more conducive to pupil security than the more varied relationships necessitated by a three- or five-to-one teacher-pupil relationship; there are advantages in having a single teacher manage all the subject-matter instruction for a given class; the ideal size of classroom groups for all kinds of instructional

purposes is somewhere between twenty and thirty; and the lecture technique of teaching and its variants are essentially unsuitable as instructional approaches to young children.

Team organization may be understood best, perhaps, against the background of the more common organizational pattern of self-contained classrooms. In the typical self-contained organization, some twenty to thirty pupils are assigned to each teacher, and each group is placed in a classroom where most of the instruction takes place at the hands of that one teacher. She is expected to have the skills and the knowledge for competent instruction in virtually all the subject-matter areas. She must provide as best she can for the range of individual needs and abilities in her group. In addition, she must ordinarily perform a variety of clerical duties and supervisory tasks of a non-instructional nature. Under typical conditions, she has little contact with other teachers in the building, and she receives little supervision.

In contrast, under the team-teaching pattern, groups of teachers take joint responsibility for the instruction of a segment of the school population. Typically, from three to seven or eight certificated teachers take responsibility for the instruction of from seventy-five to 240 pupils of similar age and grade. The clerical and secretarial needs of these teachers are cared for by a clerical aide. The size of the team may be limited by the number of adults with whom a leader can relate effectively and by the number of pupils about whom the leader may reasonably be expected to have fairly specific information.

The teaching team is a formally organized hierarchy whose basic unit is the teacher. Generally, the teacher's experience or training or both have been of a general nature, or he does not wish to assume the responsibilities of a higher position. The position of teacher in the teaching team carries with it the status and prestige commonly accorded the position of teacher in the self-contained pattern today.

Above the position of teacher is that of senior teacher. Depending on the size of the team and the age of the pupils, the team may have one or more senior teachers. A small team may have none. The

senior teacher is an experienced teacher who has special competence in a particular subject-matter area or in a particular skill or method. The senior teacher assumes responsibility for instructional leadership—both in his team and, if needed, across teams within the building—in the area of his special competence. Although the positions of senior teacher and team leader are regarded as terminal for many, a possible career line from this position might lead toward the position of team leader or toward such positions as system-wide staff specialist or supervisor or methods instructor at a teacher-training institution.

At the apex of the team hierarchy is the position of team leader. The team leader, a specialist in a content area that complements the areas of his senior teacher assistants, also exercises certain general administrative and co-ordinating functions. The team leader also has primary responsibility in his team for the identification of pupil needs and readiness and for the assignment of pupils to groups; for directing the continual re-examination and development of the curriculum; and for the training and supervision of junior and less experienced personnel on his team. To discharge his responsibilities effectively, the team leader is released from classroom teaching responsibilities for about a third of the school day. The career line from this position would probably lead to a principalship and perhaps to the superintendency.

In consideration of their additional training and increased responsibilities, senior teachers receive a salary increment beyond the teachers' schedule, and team leaders receive an increment beyond senior teachers'.

The role of the principal under the teaching teams organization will probably become one of enhanced prestige and responsibility, somewhat akin to the present role of director of instruction. Since team leaders and their subordinates are able to attend to many routine administrative and management details, the principal has more time and opportunity for leadership in curriculum development, instructional supervision, and guidance. Although the principal continues to have direct supervisory relations with regular classroom

teachers, it is likely that he serves quite often as adviser to the team leaders as they carry out their leadership functions and curriculum-building.

A chief advantage of the school organization sketched here lies in the strength of leadership resources that reside in the school whose staff satisfies the specifications for each role. As shown in Figure 1,

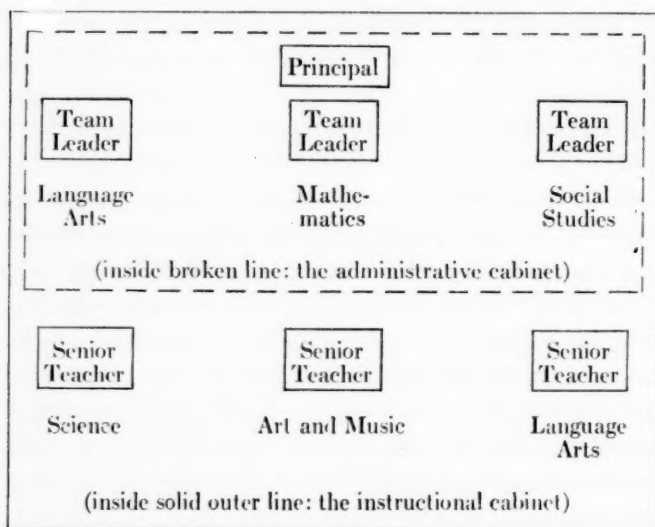


FIG. 1.—Pattern of organization for team teaching

the principal and the team leaders, for example, may be viewed as an administrative cabinet. These staff members, augmented by the senior teachers, constitute an instructional cabinet. In effect they would together possess the range and depth of competencies of the curriculum-and-methods instructors in a teacher-training institution and hence would be well qualified to appraise and upgrade the school's program.

Thus, a school might expect to operate on the basis of a fairly stable nucleus of upper-echelon career people and a fairly high turnover among teachers with little loss to its total instructional program.

Despite the encouragement of specialization, the project does not

advocate departmentalization as it is commonly understood in educational circles. All teachers continue to teach all, or nearly all, subjects. Furthermore, teams may draw on part-time teachers, consultants, and resource personnel from the community or nearby institutions of higher education.

The team treats its entire pupil complement as a unit. But both group size and the bases of group composition may vary from class period to class period. The goal is flexible grouping based on specific instructional needs. Thus the team may deal with its pupil complement as a total group, or it may regroup and subdivide the pupils in much the same way that the teacher of the self-contained classroom groups and regroups the pupils who are her responsibility. The entire group of from 75 to 250 pupils may meet as a single large group to hear a lecture or story, to see a demonstration, or to view a movie. Or from the large group the extremes (retarded and accelerated) or a selected individual or group may be withdrawn. The pupils may be redeployed into interest or ability groups of standard size for follow-up activities after a lesson for a large group.

The pupils may be grouped on the basis of one criterion for instruction in arithmetic and on the basis of another criterion for instruction in the language arts or any other subject. Some pupils will have the same teacher for much of their instruction. Other pupils may meet a different teacher for nearly every subject. In the latter arrangement, a presumed advantage to the pupil is that he will come in contact with several adult models and personality types.

Special abilities and disabilities, such as talent in music, proficiency in French, or the need for remedial treatment in reading or speech, can also be accommodated in the schemes for grouping. Furthermore, the number of groups composed on any occasion may be fewer than the number of teachers on the team, thus releasing some teachers from instructional responsibility and enabling them to engage in other professional activities.

Some phases of learning—listening, reading, watching—can be engaged in as well by a large group of pupils as by a small group.

Just what the maximum size of these groups may be under different conditions has not yet been determined. However, groups of 75 pupils have met routinely in the Franklin School, and groups of 140 or 215 are not uncommon.

Redeployment of pupils has taken place for instruction in reading and arithmetic at all levels—from first through sixth grade. Pupils in all grades have likewise had instruction in large groups. Data from 1958-59 indicate that about a third of all the instructional sessions involved groups of forty or more pupils and that there was considerable pupil movement and transfer in all grades.

Though groups of twenty to thirty are smaller than they need be for efficient and effective pupil participation in many kinds of learning activities, these same groups are too large for more nearly individual activities. Reciting, discussing, those activities that seem to require a high rate of interaction between pupils or between pupils and teacher can perhaps best take place in small groups ranging in size from ten or twelve down to a few. The flexibility of pupil grouping and redeployment facilitated by the team organization seems to offer a realistic solution to this problem.

Theoretically, then, the team provides the structure within which team leadership personnel engage in some supervisory and curriculum development activities. The team leaders take responsibility for assigning pupils to groups within the team. They co-ordinate the instructional efforts of junior personnel and also may have more time available for talking with parents. The team structure makes it possible for all teaching personnel to spend more time on planning and on the preparation of materials and less time on clerical and non-instructional supervisory duties. By taking advantage of the opportunities provided through the presence of specialists and clerical aides, and by taking advantage of the released time provided through the scheduling of large group lessons and through the creation of fewer groups than teachers, much more effective use of professional personnel can be realized under team organization than under the self-contained pattern. Furthermore, by holding team meetings be-

fore and after school, there is opportunity for discussion of instructional problems. In many respects, the team structure provides an extension of the training period with its emphasis on planning, observation, and evaluation.

The project does not claim that all the components of its program or model are unique. Many elements have been used in best educational practice for some time. The project is also aware of the existence of several versions and variants of teaching teams organization that are now being developed throughout the country. What is unique about the Teaching Teams Project at Franklin School is the number and the particular combination of elements in its model.

At the beginning of the 1958-59 school year, several changes were made in the organization of the teams, resulting in the following arrangement:

Alpha: four first-grade teachers (team leader in charge)

Beta: six second- and third-grade teachers (team leader in charge assisted by a senior teacher)

Omega: eight fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade teachers (team leader in charge assisted by two senior teachers)

Again clerical assistance was provided, and part-time teacher service was made available to each team for research purposes.

The organizational pattern of Franklin School for 1959-60 is essentially the same as that for the preceding year. The organization may be presented most vividly, perhaps, by a diagram (see Figure 2).

There are at least two major differences between the organization for 1958-59 and for 1959-60. One is a difference in structure. For 1959-60, a new senior teacher position was created outside any team organization. This position of senior teacher specialist in art, music, and physical education gives the teaching teams more freedom in program planning and in use of space than they enjoyed under a former arrangement of special visiting teachers who, of necessity, worked on a fixed schedule involving system-wide considerations.

The other change is one of emphasis. Whereas before 1959-60, senior teachers were looked on essentially as grade-level chairmen

or as assistant or substitute team leaders, in 1959-60 team leaders and senior teachers alike are becoming specialists in a particular instructional area. The team leader, in addition, assumes administrative responsibility for his team.

In the structure outlined in Figure 2, precise specification of qualifications and functions are still to be written. However, the hierarchy is seen as including a team leader, a senior teacher, a teacher, a part-time teacher, an intern, and a clerical aide.

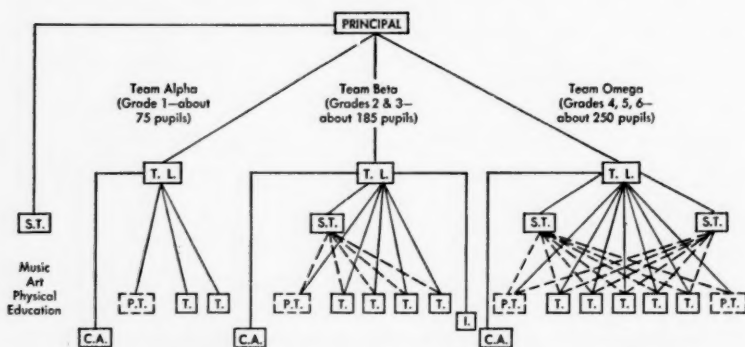


FIG. 2.—Organization for team teaching in Franklin School for 1959-60

The team leader (T.L.) is an experienced, mature master teacher of unusual talent who has had considerable experience, who has training well beyond the master's degree and who has had extensive training in curriculum and instruction, in supervision, human relations, and/or educational sociology. This person would have demonstrated an ability to work with teachers in a leadership role. About a third of his school day might be released for observation and training of subordinates, planning, curriculum development, research and evaluation, and parent conferences.

The senior teacher (S.T.) is an experienced, mature person with above-average talent and considerable advanced training, comparable to the well-regarded career teacher today, and with some specialized competence in a particular curriculum area.

The teacher (T.) category is seen as composed of two types of

personnel: first, competent, experienced teachers of broad general training, and second, those of relatively little experience. The status of this position is seen as equal to that enjoyed by the typical teacher today.

The part-time teacher (P.T.) is a fully trained teacher, usually experienced, who is unable to teach full time. A combination of two or three part-time teachers might fill a billet which would otherwise require one full-time teacher.

The intern (I.) is a trainee in a program of teacher education doing full-time supervised teaching in a school for one semester. The work of the intern is customarily directed by a senior teacher or team leader working with the training school supervisor.

The clerical aide (C.A.) requires no professional preparation. This person will help with the routine, non-technical aspects of team operation: typing, rexographing, filing. It is possible that other sub-professional roles can be developed in this category, for example, technicians capable of producing instructional and demonstration materials.

The absence of precise specifications for the qualifications and functions of the several positions has resulted in some frustration and tension as individuals at all levels have tried to work together in ill-defined roles for which adequate criteria for selection were not available at the time personnel were appointed and in which the emphasis, in some cases, has changed markedly during the two years of the project. Personnel have been concerned about the absence of stated expectations for some areas.

The project staff has found that conventionally constructed school buildings with their rows of self-contained cells all the same size, divided by immovable partitions, do not meet the needs of most effective team operation. It is of more than passing interest to note that a new elementary school in Lexington, now on the architect's drafting boards, is being designed with the special requirements of team teaching in high priority.

In grouping, attention has already been directed to the possibili-

ties and flexibility of the situation. But the flexibility and the freedom present problems that can be frustrating. They raise questions about criteria for grouping, about the availability and validity of instruments to evaluate pupils in terms of the criteria, about the transfer of youngsters from one group to another, about the merits of horizontal enrichment and longitudinal progression, and about the justification for large group instruction. These are examples of a host of questions that could be raised about pupil redeployment. It is toward the clarification and understanding of questions such as these that some of the efforts of both the school and university staff are now directed (1).

In curriculum development, also, the opportunities the team structure offers for reflective and creative work and the challenges provided by the flexibility of the grouping arrangements have dictated a re-examination of the curriculum. Questions are immediately raised as to the objectives of the school, of a particular subject, or of a unit. Issues are raised on the criteria by which content is to be selected and how it is to be organized. Questions of the appropriateness of content, materials, and technique—with perhaps special interest in the use of technological devices—for groups of different composition and different sizes also demand attention. To these and similar questions, the attention of the project is also directed. Efforts are being made to define and clarify the problems involved and to develop and test various sequences of the curriculum.

The opportunity to come to grips with some of these issues in an atmosphere of collaboration and constructive criticism is one source of the attraction and the holding power inherent in the teaching-teams concept.

NOTE

1. Further, more definitive analyses of problems and implications are being written and will appear in the literature in the near future.

Muted Language

Communication covers a broader terrain than most of us realize. Since language is one of man's most distinctive characteristics, we sometimes slip into the error of thinking that all communication must be verbal. Executives and administrators—whether in education, industry, or government—are especially prone to this fallacy. This, of course, is not surprising, for the executive's world is largely a verbal one.

To persist in this narrow view of communication is folly. Yet few training programs for executives escape such folly; most of them ignore the entire range of non-verbal communication, the muted language in which human beings speak to one another more eloquently than with words. Spoken and written language can be compared to blowing the trumpet with its throat open; non-verbal language can be compared to music played with a mute in the horn. In the first case, the notes come out sharp and clear; in the second, they may be muffled but certainly no less evocative. (Anyone who has ever listened to the muted trumpet of Louis Armstrong or Jonah Jones can testify to this effect.) To avoid the narrow view we must start by recognizing that man communicates to his fellow man with his entire body and with all his behavior. We shall not discuss verbal communication; enough has been said about it. Instead, we shall confine our remarks to muted language: the language of eyes and hands, of gesture, of time and of status symbols, of unconscious slips which betray the very words we use.

ANDREW W. HALPIN, director of the Bureau of Educational Research at the University of Utah, is also a professor in the Department of Educational Administration (1).

Muted language often reinforces the messages we receive from others through verbal communication. Let us define verbal communication as any form of spoken, written, or printed communication. The latter would include cartoons, charts, and photographs. Perhaps we should note, too, that we are indulging in a rather sloppy use of the term *communication*. Communication is not achieved until the person to whom the intended message has been directed has received it and has integrated the information transmitted well enough to permit him to act on it. Strictly speaking, then, a message is not a communication, but only an intended communication. However, for our present purposes we shall use the word *communication* in the idiomatic sense to refer to a message which attempts to communicate specified information, attitudes, or values to specified audiences.

To return to the point with which we started, muted language often reinforces the messages we receive. But we sometimes find ourselves in situations where we seem to be receiving contradictory messages from the same person. His words say one thing, but through some strange intuition we feel that his behavior says just the opposite. Under such circumstances which message are we to believe?

Consider a few examples. You meet John Anderson for the first time in his office by appointment. You arrive on time; his secretary says that he is busy but will see you in a few minutes. He is alone in his office and as you wait in the outer office, you note that no lights are glowing on the receptionist's switchboard. Anderson is not on the phone. Yet you wait fifteen minutes until he buzzes his secretary to have her usher you into his office.

He is seated behind a large mahogany desk and across the desk, directly opposite him, is a visitor's chair. He reaches across the desk to shake hands with you, declares that he is happy to meet you, and asks, "What can I do for you, Mr. X?" In shaking your hand, his handclasp is firm enough, but you feel that his forearm is locked at the elbow. At the same time that he is saying how pleased he is to meet you, his hand and his arm are almost pushing you away from him and subtly reminding you that he wants you to keep your distance. This maneuver is emphasized by the obvious status symbol:

the impressive mahogany desk. He uses this symbol physically as a barrier which he keeps interposed between you and himself.

You begin to realize more fully the significance of the fifteen-minute wait in the outer office. You recall that, instead of coming to the door himself, he buzzed his secretary to bring you in. The omission of any apology for keeping you waiting fits the rest of the picture.

Here is a man infatuated by the sense of his own importance, a man who insists on keeping status lines clear and sees to it that you know your place. His voice is hearty, he says all the proper things, he assures you of his co-operation. Yet at least twice during your short conversation he interrupts you before you have finished your sentence. During your twenty-minute visit his phone rings three times. He excuses himself on each occasion with a deprecatory gesture, as if trying to say, "You know how these things are." But because his expression shows no concern for you, the intended apology in his gesture does not come through. What comes through instead is a different message: "See what a busy, important man I am. You should be grateful to me for even seeing you, for letting you nibble at the crumbs of my time which I'm throwing to you."

When your conversation is finished, Anderson stands—but still behind his barricade—smiles at you, perhaps a bit too unctuously, and tells you, "Feel free to drop in any time at all. I'm always glad to help the cause of education." You notice his stealthy glance at his watch and the slight tightening of the corners of his mouth. These barely detectable movements betray his impatience and fear lest you commit the blunder of prolonging the interview after he has decided to terminate it.

What good are this man's words, if his behavior violates everything he says? This example may seem slightly exaggerated, but is it really? Or does it seem exaggerated only because it is too close for comfort? We have all found ourselves in similar situations. But sometimes the cues from the muted language of others are so subtle that we don't immediately catch the discrepancy between what they say and what their behavior tells us they believe.

The contradiction between open language and muted language

comes about because human beings are just as adept in using words to hide meaning as in using them to explicate meaning. The problem is confounded by the ironic fact that the man who uses words for obfuscation is frequently trapped in the net of his own deception, so that he himself no longer knows what he actually feels or believes. How much more honest are puppies: they wag their tails only at the people they like.

One of the keenest observers of the discrepancy between words and behavior was the distinguished French *littérateur*, André Gide. In a devastating remark about an associate, Gide once said, "He talks about himself with great modesty, but constantly." Oblique to Gide's thrust, but equally incisive, is Albert Einstein's appraisal of a mediocre colleague, "He has no right to be so humble; he is not great enough."

Sometimes the words we say are spoken only as an empty ritual. For example, in education we have been urged to follow the principles of democratic administration, whatever this contradictory slice of jargon may mean. Consequently, many school administrators have learned the vocabulary of democracy and have practiced the techniques of human relations. But the man who uses these words and techniques and has no respect or heart for others, is a fraud. Such men talk one game and play another, and then seem grieved because the teachers on their staff suspect their motives.

Typical "human-relations" training programs, especially those which emphasize techniques at the expense of theory, do little to narrow the gap between verbal and muted language. A man who has gone through such a training course may remember the maxim to include all the members of his work group in any discussion or decision that effects their welfare. So, back on the job, he decides to apply what he thinks he has learned. He calls his staff together, but by the movements of his eyes, by the direction of his remarks, by the brusqueness of his voice in speaking to certain staff members, by his gestures, by his whole demeanor, he makes it clear that all members of the staff are not, in fact, included. Some of the mem-

bers may be physically present, but psychologically he has ostracized them. It would be more honest for the administrator to single out one or more teachers in the group to talk to, with no pretense of including the others, than to presume to talk to the whole group. For by his bad manners or by elaborately ignoring some group members, he has made it apparent that having all the group members present is only window-dressing. After a few excursions into this hypocrisy, the administrator discovers that his teachers are not happy with his way of operating. He then proclaims that the failure lies in the group-decision fad, that group-involvement was a nonsensical idea in the first place.

Let us look at another incident where the mechanical use of a technique produced an effect diametrically opposite to what the executive intended. The president of a publishing firm had just returned from a five-week vacation and was visiting various editorial offices, making pleasant talk with the employees, displaying jovial camaraderie, and, in general, spreading his benevolence and good will. He noted a conspicuous but attractive collage that one of the editors had constructed on the wall above his desk. The executive made what he considered appropriate noises about the editor's artistic talents. The recipient of the praise smiled feebly. He and the woman editor who shared the office saw nothing to be gained by telling the president that the collage had been on the wall for six months. His present effusion about the collage served only to underscore how much he had ignored both editors for the past half year.

Once, on leaving a conference she had just completed with the same president, the woman editor fumed, "What annoys me most is when someone asks me questions and then doesn't bother to listen to my answers!" This is another instance in which open and muted language may disagree. If you ask a person a question, you lead him to believe that you would like to have an answer and that he has your sanction to answer freely. But if you patently don't listen to what he has to say, if the drumming of your fingers on your desk or your wandering, distraught gaze shows that you have asked the

question only to hear yourself talk, how can you expect the other person to believe—either now or later—that you respect his judgment?

Watch a superintendent or a principal in a staff meeting. Note how he treats his associates. Does he interrupt them? Is he ungracious in speaking to them? Does he keep quiet, not listening but simply waiting until he can expatiate again on his pet notions? Does he fix the agenda so rigidly that discussion is invited only after he has completed his own distended and tedious monologue, and at a time when everybody is weary and anxious to get home? At the close of the meeting does he check the feelings of the participants to see whether they are satisfied to close the issues at stake, or does he indicate—by putting his watch back into his pocket, by buttoning his jacket, by putting the papers on the table back into his brief case, or by a reminder about his next engagement—that, having had his say, now, as far as he is concerned, the meeting is over?

An executive's use of time is a central feature in the muted language with which he speaks to others. In America we have strict attitudes about time: time is valuable and should not be wasted. We ascribe a tangibility to time and consider it a commodity that can be measured, bought, sold, saved, spent, wasted, lost, and made up. This attitude contrasts to attitudes toward time encountered, for example, in Latin America or in Arabia. The American executive seems especially enslaved by his attitudes toward time, so much so that the amount of time he allots to a subordinate, and the point in the day when the time is allotted tells the subordinate—in muted language, of course—something about his status and the urgency, to the superior, of the issue under consideration. Thus, a ten-minute appointment has a significance different from a thirty-minute appointment. The appointment a principal makes with a teacher for 3:30 in the afternoon, immediately after classes have been dismissed, connotes greater consideration than one set for 4:30, which tells the teacher that she can keep herself busy until the principal can get around to her. To set an appointment ten minutes before the end of a teacher's free

period is different from saying, "Let's have lunch together, and talk it over."

Witness the case of a dean who prided himself on the consideration he showed to his faculty but called a faculty meeting late in the afternoon of the Wednesday before Thanksgiving. Technically he was within his rights, for at this university the professors were expected to follow a schedule which ran from at least 9:00 to 5:00. But leaving the campus early on the day before a holiday was a common and a condoned practice. Many of the professors had been hoping to get an early start, with their families, for out-of-town trips, but everyone knew that the dean planned to spend most of the week end at his desk. He was too ambitious a man to waste sentiment on Thanksgiving. At the faculty meeting—which dealt with no issues that would have suffered from postponement—the dean's characteristic facial expression of beaming, patriarchal benevolence for all his staff was perceived for what it indeed was: a mask. Nothing he could say about the wonderful co-operation of his staff could stifle what his muted language shrieked: that by co-operation he meant the staff should coo while he operated.

When a meeting is scheduled, who waits for whom and for how long says important things about relationships. Most organizations or cultures develop informal tolerance ranges for lateness; to keep a person waiting beyond the tolerance limit is a subtle way of insulting him. However, the handling of promptness and lateness can vary with the subculture and with the functions of the meeting. Thus military officers are likely to arrive a few minutes ahead of the appointed time, whereas professors usually arrive from five to ten minutes after the set time. In the social sphere, only a yokel arrives at a cocktail party at the stipulated time, whereas good manners require a guest to arrive at a dinner party not more than ten minutes late.

An executive's use of space also communicates his attitudes toward others. At a conference table, does he invariably seat himself at what

is clearly the head of the table? When he has two or more of his immediate associates with him in a conference with the members of a subordinate group in the organization, do he and his associates align themselves in formidable array on one side of the table, so that the physical arrangement itself emphasizes to the members of the subordinate group that they are supplicants before the judges of a high court? In a conference room where a table has been set, the chair farthest from the door is usually associated with highest status; the wise executive will avoid earmarking this chair for his exclusive use. Where office space permits, a sensitive executive will keep a small table, with chairs, in addition to his desk; he meets visitors at this table, with the chairs arranged so as to diminish social distance.

If this discussion of tables seems picayune, please recall how much time of the opening sessions of the 1959 Geneva Conference was devoted to the seating of the East German delegates. The size of the table, whether it should be square or round, and where it should be placed in relation to the main conference table, all became explosive issues of protocol.

The executive communicates, too, by the distance at which he stands or sits when talking to associates. A neutral distance between persons for communicating information of non-personal matter is about four and a half to five feet. For personal matters, twenty to thirty inches is a neutral distance. In contrast, a range of five and a half to eight feet is a public distance; to keep a conferee at this distance is to discourage completely any discussion of personal matters. In short, the physical distance you set controls the content of the discussion.

How does the executive use space in setting the place of meeting? Does he invariably send for his subordinates and have them come to his office? Does he transmit all his messages through a secretary? Or does he often walk down the hall and stop in to talk with the associate in his office? Unfortunately, many an executive feels ill at ease with his associates the moment he leaves the protection of his own lair; for in his own office he is better able to control the time, course, and content of the conversation.

Status differences are inevitable; an organization cannot operate without them, for the moment you appoint a superintendent or a principal you assign him a status different from that of the teachers. We do not propose to abolish status differences. Nor do we believe, as Vance Packard advocates in his recent best seller, *The Status Seekers*, that status differences betray the American Dream (2). We merely suggest that an executive can secure better personnel relations by not brandishing status symbols. Communication has a greater chance of being effective when it takes place in a permissive, give-and-take atmosphere; such permissiveness is destroyed by a preoccupation with differences in status and authority.

Information can be exchanged best in a group where the leader himself tolerates some ambiguity and makes his proposals with an attitude of tentativeness. But an executive who is jealous of his authority and is personally insecure in his job can seldom assume an attitude of tentativeness; his comments are likely to be stained with dogma, and his remarks are usually delivered pontifically. What these unfortunate executives fail to understand is that their attitudes are transmitted non-verbally to their listeners and these very attitudes cause listeners to react unfavorably to the content of the communication.

For excellent discussions of non-verbal communication—or muted language, as we have called it here—two recent books provide stimulating reading. The first, *Non-verbal Communication*, is written by Jurgen Ruesch and Weldon Kees (3). The senior author is a psychiatrist; his writing partner, a poet. The second and more recent book is *The Silent Language*, by Edward T. Hall (4). Hall, an anthropologist, is president of Overseas Training and Research, Inc., a concern which trains and advises American corporations that have extensive foreign interests. The book by Ruesch and Kees is rich with photographs which vividly illustrate many subtle facets of muted language. Hall states flatly that culture is communication and that we can best understand a culture by analyzing its modes of communication.

We have discussed ways in which muted language transmits messages in various face-to-face situations. How does what we have to say apply to the formal messages which a superintendent distributes through newsletters, personal correspondence, staff memos, and mass media? The attitudes which staff members hold toward an executive are derived from person-to-person, face-to-face interactions, either in individual conferences or in small-group meetings. The attitudes built up through these interactions operate as filters through which the recipient perceives all other verbal, and especially written, communications. If the non-verbal messages which a teacher reads in a superintendent's behavior cause her to mistrust him, there is little likelihood that a flood of written bulletins will induce her to change her opinion. In fact, under such circumstances, the more information he pours out, the more she is inclined to denounce his efforts as a smoke screen to hide other shenanigans. The attitudes that make or break an organization are forged in the crucible of day-to-day informal relations. If these attitudes are healthy, the use of formal communication and mass media can be constructive. If these attitudes are negative, this negative view extends to everything the administrator tries to do.

We have all had the experience of being so repelled by the tone of a letter that we have categorically rejected its intended content. Many executives belatedly discover that their writing style transmits a muted message which says more to the recipient than the actually intended message. The letters of some men have verve and reveal across a continent the warmth and spontaneity of their personality. The letters of other men are stiff, dogmatic, and insensitive to the feelings of the recipient. When we read a letter, the emotional tone comes through even faster than the substantive content.

The executive who is addicted to rules and regulations exposes his contempt for the human individual in letters which are bloated with bureaucratic jargon. Heavy reliance on the third person, neuter, and persistent use of the passive voice reflect impersonality—"It has been decided that—." The repetition of stale clichés (5) as substitutes

for thought bespeaks either laziness or shallowness. Regrettably, few executives realize that a pompous style and poor manners in writing can create attitudes just as antagonistic as those aroused by poor manners in face-to-face meetings. In face-to-face relations even a boor—if he's perceptive enough—can catch some feedback from his listeners and modify his behavior before he has done irreparable damage. But in a letter or a memo, a gauche remark is imprisoned in print and can haunt the writer for years.

Many letters or reports written by administrators can be described best not as muted language, but more pathetically as mutilated language. Our schools and especially our colleges of education may be partially responsible for what Professor Henry Higgins, the hero in Shaw's *Pygmalion*, called "the cold-blooded murder of the English tongue." Books on education, and especially those on educational administration, ooze with verbal slush. After repeated exposure to this deadly fare, a reader is no longer able to distinguish between a slogan and an idea. To compound the felony, professors insist that the graduate student, in preparing a thesis or dissertation, follow a manual of style that perpetuates the use of the inert, passive voice. Fortunately, a few major universities are trying to get away from this practice. They are recognizing that the dogged use of the third person does not automatically produce the objectivity ascribed to it. Perhaps we should listen to the plea of W. Furness Thompson, Vice President in charge of Research and Development for Smith, Kline and French Laboratories. In his sparkling article, "Why Don't the Scientists Admit They're Human?" Thompson urges us to report scientific findings in a lively fashion, to avoid the pretentiousness of a spurious objectivity (6).

Obviously we cannot eliminate all technical language, for the language of science constitutes much of its substance. This language provides a highly desirable precision which is seldom matched by the language of everyday life. It should be noted, too, that, although literary style may enhance the enjoyment of a communication, literary critics are rarely competent to practice their art on legal or

scientific documents. But if we cannot eliminate the essential jargon—and here we use the term not in the pejorative sense, but to refer to the specialized vocabulary and idiom of those in the same profession—we can at least get rid of the gratuitous jargon. The difficulty is that gratuitous jargon proliferates so promiscuously; only by constant vigilance can we train ourselves to avoid the use of jargon for its own sake. The literary critic, Lionel Trilling, has noted how easily technical language can degenerate into the language of non-thought:

A specter haunts our culture—it is that people will eventually be unable to say, "They fell in love and married," let alone understand the language of *Romeo and Juliet*, but will as a matter of course say, "Their libidinal impulses being reciprocal, they activated their individual erotic drives and integrated them within the same frame of reference."

Now this is not the language of abstract thought or of any kind of thought. But it is the language which is developing from the peculiar status which we in our culture have given to abstract thought. There can be no doubt whatever that it constitutes a threat to the emotions and thus to life itself [7].

When we stoop to this language of non-thought, we reveal our intellectual sterility. Trilling's example is extreme but not far removed from the bafflegab perpetrated every day by some harassed executive.

Bureaucratic language is weasel language, constructed for men who want to pass the buck and evade personal responsibility; it is the language of the faceless "they." If you have a feeling of warmth toward other human beings, why suffocate it under a pile of bureaucratic cant? However, the bureaucratic style is ideally suited to three types of administrators. It is perfect for the fellow who is so mean that he would steal the straw from his mother's kennel. This fellow had best stick to jargon and use it as a cover for his meanness. Second, gobbledegook is a handy solution for the executive who has neither the time, the capacity, nor the predilection to think. Finally, bureaucratic prose is perfect for the faceless ones who have long since renounced any desire to develop their individuality. If you fall into any of these categories, by all means continue to write in a dull, impersonal, plodding style. But if you still belong to the human race, please let your own humanness shine through your writing.

This is a good place to pause to summarize what we have said about muted language and to state a few implications for the preparation of educators. Our remarks thus far can be compressed into seven points.

1. Verbal communication constitutes only one segment of the total spectrum of human communication.

2. The muted language of non-verbal communication is a rich source of cues in determining the course of interpersonal relations.

3. In addition to whatever information we may intend to communicate in manifest form, we usually also communicate additional information in muted language.

4. The messages of open language and of muted language may reinforce or contradict each other. In the latter case, the listener must decide which message is the true one.

5. In oral language the muted notes are added through gesture, timbre and inflections of voice, and word choice. In written language the muted messages are transmitted through word choice and writing style. The executive who believes that he transmits only the literal meaning of what he has spoken or written is operating under a pathetic delusion.

6. The confidence that employees place in an administrator's utterances, whether oral or written, is determined by what they have learned about him in face-to-face interactions; under these conditions they can judge whether his open language and his muted language are sending out the same message. Whatever suspicions employees may harbor as a result of direct contact with the administrator are translated into skepticism about the good faith of his formal, written communications.

7. In short, communication is a far more subtle and more complex process than most administrators are wont to admit.

Given these facts, what are the implications for the preparation of school administrators? One indictment can be made flatly: until now, no effort has been made at any university in the country to include in the training for educational administrators a set of systematic experiences which will develop in these administrators an explicit

awareness of the subtleties of non-verbal communication. This is a serious omission, for, as we have contended here, a man cannot be a successful administrator unless he is highly skilled in reading muted language and is also sensitive to the nuances of meaning which he transmits to others through his own muted language.

There are critics who quite properly say, "The first thing we know we will find ourselves searching for hidden, subtle meanings in our communication to the point where a sincere, uncomplicated situation is soured by trivial mannerisms and details." We would not want to see this happen. Nor need it happen, provided we emphasize changing the individual from the inside out. If all that we do is provide a trainee with a set of gimmicks for manipulating other people, we have done more harm than good. Our purpose must constantly be one of increasing sincerity and diminishing affectation. Our hope is that, as the individual increasingly recognizes the negative features of what he communicates, his own insight will force him into being more sincere.

Many men learn the skills of reading muted language through experience on the job. Although on-the-job experience can be a good teacher, it can also prove to be a very expensive teacher. At times it can even cost a superintendent his job.

No training programs have been conducted on the reading of muted language. No one is quite sure how to develop such a program. The task is a prodigious one, for it poses the blunt question, "How can we teach human beings to be more sensitive to the wide range of messages they are continuously receiving from their fellow humans?" Nor are we sure how much change in personality structure such an increased sensitivity may require. Training of this kind is more similar to a psychotherapeutic experience than to an orthodox teaching-learning situation. The task is formidable, yet those of us concerned with preparing better administrators cannot evade the responsibility for tackling this crucial job. Whatever suggestions we may offer here for dealing with this task are necessarily speculative. Nevertheless, since speculation can furnish an impetus for action,

let us examine three possible approaches for training administrators in the skills of reading muted language.

In pre-service and in-service learning situations, role-playing and sociodrama can make important contributions, provided that a trained observer is available to interpret cues. Training groups, supervised by specialists in group dynamics, can be extremely beneficial.

Furthermore, the "In-Basket Technique" now being used as a testing procedure for establishing criteria of "success" for elementary-school principals can be readily adapted as a training method to sensitize administrators to muted cues in written communications. This research study on elementary-school principals was directed by Daniel E. Griffiths, at Teachers College, Columbia University (8). He adapted the "in-basket" technique, previously used by other investigators in both military and industrial settings, to the situation of the elementary-school principal. The principal is thoroughly briefed in his new role as Marion Smith, principal of the mythical Whitman school, in the Jefferson public schools, in the state of Lafayette. After the briefing, he is given a batch of notes, correspondence, and memos such as might be found in a principal's "in-basket." He acts as he sees fit on the items in the basket and later is asked to explain why he handled each item as he did.

An exploratory attempt to use the same materials for training purposes was made in an elementary-school principal's workshop conducted during the summer of 1959 at the University of Chicago. Luvern Cunningham, who had major responsibility for this workshop, reports that the "in-basket" materials are exceptionally useful for training purposes (9).

Thus far little has been done with kinescopes and recorded tapes for training in the observation of muted cues. There is no reason why we could not film a variety of special administrative situations and have student viewers interpret what took place in the film. A competent discussion leader could then help the students achieve a richer understanding of how they themselves communicate with others. Another possibility would be to telecast through a closed-circuit TV

system scenes of actual administrators at work and have student observers analyze the administrator's handling of specific problems.

A second approach, which has been used principally in industry, is to have a trained consultant work directly with an administrator. The consultant acts as an observer, watching the administrator in his day-to-day behavior on the job. The consultant can then sensitize the administrator to relevant facets of his relations with others which he may be ignoring at his peril. This administrator-consultant relationship becomes an intimate one that must be maintained over an extended period of time. Obviously, the consultant must be skilled as a clinical psychologist and must be prepared to establish a counseling relationship with the client.

During this past year, four staff associates at the Midwest Administration Center of the University of Chicago have used a version of this observer technique; each of these four men observed a different superintendent in a variety of administrative situations during the school year. The associates did not report their observations to the superintendents but instead prepared verbatim reports of their observations and analyzed these reports in an advanced seminar conducted by two especially astute professors of educational administration. The associates concluded that this experience enabled them to detect muted cues which formerly would have escaped them entirely. These four men were Ph.D. candidates who had had extensive administrative experience in public schools. The candidates were chosen from a roster of highly qualified applicants drawn from the United States and Canada. Whether the success of the Chicago program can be duplicated with less able students is an empirical question that remains to be tested.

The third approach is both obvious and venerable: the use of a rich, liberal education, with major emphasis on literature. Whether a course is liberal or not is determined not by whether the course is given in a liberal arts college or a professional school, but by whether the course as it is taught is, in fact, liberating. Some professional courses whose catalogue descriptions suggest that they are

technical rather than liberal, can prove very liberating indeed in the hands of a competent professor. Conversely, some literature courses, as they are now taught in liberal arts colleges, are deadly and certainly anything but liberating. The liberating quality of a course is established more by the professor than by the course content.

When we define our task as we have, in the form of a question, "How can we teach human beings to be more sensitive to the wide range of messages they are continuously receiving from their fellow humans?" what have we done but define one of the salient purposes of literature? The administrator is working with human beings, and his job puts him in a position of economic power over other human beings; it behooves him to understand the human heart, to understand—if you will—the ineffable ambiguity of the human condition. But this understanding is precisely what the poet, the playwright, the short story writer, and the novelist seek to achieve. Through the eyes of these writers, we, as administrators, can freshen our insights into our own personal problems and the problems of those with whom we work. A competent novelist portrays his characters by what they do, not just by what they say, and in this shaping he explicates for us the myriad muted cues through which man communicates with man. The perennial acrimony between colleges of education and liberal arts colleges has perhaps blinded us to the genuine and unique contribution which courses in literature can make to the preparation of better administrators.

Lest this suggestion be seen as the impractical proposal of an academician, let us note that the most dramatic, successful experiment along this line has been conducted by the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania (10). This firm granted seventeen of its middle-level managers a ten months' leave of absence with full salary to attend a special institute at the University of Pennsylvania. There they received a far richer diet of liberal education than undergraduates majoring in literature receive in most universities. Significantly, one experience which these executives later reported as most useful to them in their jobs was the study of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. The

company was delighted with the results of the experiment (11). Those who may be skeptical about this approach should also examine the small book, *Toward The Liberally Educated Executive*, sponsored by the Fund for Adult Education (12).

Literature can help an executive understand muted language; it can also give him a respect for language, and this will teach him how to communicate clearly. Listen to Peter Drucker, a professor of management at New York University and an industrial consultant to several large American corporations:

It can be said with little exaggeration that of the common college courses being taught today the ones most nearly "vocational" as preparation for management are the writing of poetry and of short stories. For these two courses teach a man how to express himself, teach him words and their meaning and, above all, give him practice in writing. It can also be said that nothing would help so much to prepare young men for management as a revival of the honorable practice of the oral defense of one's "thesis"—only it should be made a frequent, normal, continuing part of college work rather than something that happens once, at the end of formal schooling [13].

There is delicious irony in the fact that the hard-headed businessmen who direct America's great corporations are keenly aware of the special contribution that literature can make in the preparation of administrators, while professional educators—who presumably should be more cognizant of this contribution—have ignored it and have instead scurried after the Pied Piper of *scientific* "human-relations" programs. The superintendent of a wealthy suburban school system will willingly pore over a sociological report on suburbia but ignore John Cheever's short stories (14). Which can give the superintendent better insight into the hearts of his clients: the sociologist's jaded statistics or Cheever's compassion? Cheever, indeed, has the edge.

Amusingly enough, many school administrators are loath to use this approach to a better understanding of muted language. They prefer a role-playing session or a conference to the chore of reading a decent book. A book by an able novelist demands attention. But many administrators have become so addicted to distraction in their

day-to-day routine that, when no new distraction is imminent, they scan the horizon in search for one. Consequently, for these men the solitary, attentive act of reading a book is an unwelcome task (15). These men will travel a few hundred miles for a conference and absent themselves from their office several days for a meeting, and yet feel guilty about devoting a few hours a week to serious reading.

You will note that the three approaches we have suggested for "muted-language training" entail three levels of personal interaction. The first—which includes role-playing, training groups, group discussion of administrative behavior and instruction focused on the interpretation of muted cues—demands that the learner become a member of a formal class or formal group. The second requires learning on a tutorial basis, from a consultant who maintains a direct relationship with the client. The third can be accomplished without the intervention of another person: this learning takes place solely between the learner and the author of the book. In respect to the degree of required interaction, there is an approach available to everyone. How fruitful any one of these three approaches will be remains to be seen. Quite possibly one approach may prove more suitable for some administrators, and another more successful with others. This whole area of training provides a new and a challenging opportunity for bold experiment.

NOTES

1. This paper was presented June 24, 1959, at the Annual Educational Administrator's Conference, held at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City. The article was included in the published proceedings of the conference, *Improving Administrative Communication*, ed. Paul C. Fawley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959), pp. 21-32.

2. Vance Packard, *The Status Seekers* (New York: David McKay Co., 1959).

3. Jurgen Ruesch and Weldon Kees, *Non-verbal Communication: Notes on the Visual Perception of Human Relations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956).

4. Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959).

5. For a bold, insightful, and amusing analysis of the cliché, see Martin H.

Stein, "The Cliché: A Phenomenon of Resistance," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, VI (April, 1958), 263-77.

6. W. Furness Thompson, "Why Don't the Scientists Admit They're Human?" *Saturday Review*, XL (September 7, 1957), 44-46. Also see Sheridan Baker, "Scholarly Style, or the Lack Thereof," *AAUP Bulletin*, XLII (Autumn, 1956), 464-70.

7. Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Viking Press, 1950), p. 285.

8. This study is being conducted under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. No reports of the findings have as yet been published.

9. Luvern L. Cunningham, "Preparation for the Principalship," in News and Comment, *Elementary School Journal*, LX (October, 1959), 1-7.

10. Digby Baltzell, "Bell Telephone's Experiment in Education," *Harper's Magazine*, CCX (March, 1955), 73-77.

11. For a recent evaluation of this program after it had been in operation for six years, see Morris S. Viteles, "'Human Relations' and the 'Humanities' in the Education of Business Leaders: Evaluation of a Program of Humanistic Studies for Executives," *Personnel Psychology*, XII (Spring, 1959), 1-28.

12. Robert A. Goldwin and Charles A. Nelson, editors and consultants, *Toward the Liberally Educated Executive* (White Plains, New York: Fund for Adult Education, 1957).

13. Peter F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), p. 375.

14. For example, John Cheever, *The Housebreaker of Shady Hill* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958).

15. For a witty analysis of this issue, see Clifton Fadiman, "The Decline of Attention," *Saturday Review*, XXXII (August 6, 1949), 20-24.

Teacher Stereotype—Liability in Recruiting?

What can be done to attract more capable young people to the teaching profession? Much has been written about overcrowded schools, low salaries, and other conditions that discourage prospective candidates. But what do we really know about attitudes toward teachers? How much research has been done in this area?

Certainly what the public thinks of teachers has a strong influence on students' desire to enter this field. As one step toward manning our classrooms with capable young recruits, we might learn what images the public holds of teachers. The dispelling of unfavorable stereotypes could help attract more young people to our classrooms.

The word *stereotype* may be defined as a rigid, oversimplified idea about a person or a group (2). Once a group is stereotyped, pressures tend to perpetuate the image, especially if it is based on qualities that may be found in the labeled group. As a result, more and more members of the group conform to the stereotype.

Is there a teacher stereotype? Jackson and Guba recently made a study of teachers' needs (3) that proved useful in answering this question.

For their study Jackson and Guba used the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (4). This schedule consists of 225 items, each of which names two activities. The subject is instructed to choose one in each pair.

Responses to the schedule are summarized in scores on fifteen needs, which are listed in the manual as Achievement, Deference,

JOANNE W. SALTZ teaches in an elementary school in Lemon Grove, California. She formerly taught in District 108, Highland Park, Illinois (1).

Order, Exhibition, Autonomy, Affiliation, Intraception, Succorance, Dominance, Abasement, Nurturance, Change, Endurance, Heterosexuality, and Aggression.

A high score in any one of the fifteen needs indicates that the subject tends to choose activities associated with that need in preference to activities designated to reflect other needs. The schedule was standardized on a group of 1,509 liberal arts students, 760 men and 749 women.

Using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Jackson and Guba obtained information about 366 men and women who were teaching at all levels, from first grade through senior high school, in public schools near Chicago.

Teachers as a group, these two investigators found, differed significantly from the norm on five needs: deference, order, endurance, exhibition, and heterosexuality. Teachers' needs for deference, order, and endurance were high, while their needs for exhibition and heterosexuality were low. This picture seems to fit the stereotype of the teacher as an individual who is obsequious, eternally patient, painstakingly demanding, socially inept, and sexually impotent—a stereotype often portrayed in the mass media (3).

Women teachers, the researchers found, differed significantly from the norm on six needs: deference, order, endurance, exhibition, heterosexuality, and dominance. Women teachers' needs for deference, order, and endurance were significantly higher than the norms; their needs in the areas of exhibition, heterosexuality, and dominance were significantly lower than the norms. Regardless of teaching level, women teachers shared one response that was not shared by men teachers: a significantly low score on dominance.

While the ideal teacher might be expected to have high needs for nurturance, affiliation, and intraception, Jackson and Guba found no significant differences for these needs.

The purpose of the present study was to learn whether there is a teacher stereotype and whether the stereotype bears any relation to teachers' actual needs.

The subjects for the study were thirty-seven middle-class women who lived in Chicago and northern suburbs. The average age of the group was 36.5 years, and, on the average, they had completed 13.5 years of school, that is, about a year and a half of college. None of the women had ever been teachers; none had ever prepared for teaching or been married to a teacher.

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was used to determine how this group of women viewed teachers' needs. Originally the instrument was designed to measure the needs of the individual who made the responses, but for the purposes of the present study, it was assumed that the schedule could also be used to measure attitudes toward an occupational group. To adapt the schedule to this purpose, the instructions to the subjects were revised. The new instructions for the thirty-seven women who took part in the study read:

The purpose of the study is to find out what the public thinks teachers are like. Imagine that one thousand teachers have taken this test and that the majority of teachers answer these questions the same way. We would like you to answer the questions as you think the majority would probably answer. We realize that you cannot tell how a particular teacher would answer in each instance, but we would like you to think about what you know in regard to all teachers and then answer the way you think they would probably answer. . . . Remember to answer as you think teachers would answer.

The study was concerned only with attitudes toward women teachers. Although the subjects were not instructed to answer as they thought the average woman teacher would answer, it was assumed that they would think of the average teacher as a woman.

The group's ideas of teachers' needs were compared with actual scores of woman teachers, as reported by Jackson and Guba. Two sets of comparisons were made. Judged scores were compared with self-scores of teachers in elementary school and with self-scores of teachers in high school.

In comparing mean scores, a *t* test of significance was used. The results are presented in Table 1.

For elementary-school teachers, judged needs for achievement, order, dominance, and aggression were significantly higher than the

needs reported by the teachers themselves. Judged needs for autonomy, affiliation, abasement, nurturance, and change were significantly lower than the needs as reported by the teachers. For high-school teachers, judged needs for order, dominance, aggression, and intraception were significantly higher than the needs reported by the teachers themselves. Judged needs for autonomy, affiliation, abasement, nurturance, and change were significantly lower than the needs reported by the teachers.

TABLE 1

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR WOMEN TEACHERS (5) AND FOR WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS ON EDWARDS PERSONAL PREFERENCE SCHEDULE

NEED	52 HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHERS		196 ELEMENTARY- SCHOOL TEACHERS		ATTITUDES OF 37 WOMEN	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Achievement...	13.96	4.88	13.23*	4.16	15.62	3.90
Deference.....	15.19	4.37	15.10	4.10	16.14	3.35
Order.....	12.58*	4.69	13.15*	4.82	16.30	5.12
Exhibition.....	12.98	4.02	13.25	3.77	13.16	3.83
Autonomy.....	11.48†	3.93	11.69*	4.55	9.76	3.09
Affiliation.....	17.75*	4.15	17.64*	4.13	14.87	3.26
Intraception.....	16.27†	4.28	16.81	4.20	18.43	5.18
Succorance.....	12.67	4.06	12.92	4.63	12.65	4.33
Dominance.....	12.65*	5.01	11.79*	4.77	15.46	4.37
Abasement.....	14.98*	4.35	14.53*	4.78	9.81	3.76
Nurturance.....	16.35*	5.59	16.69*	4.35	13.27	4.32
Change.....	15.40†	4.55	16.69*	4.35	13.27	4.32
Endurance.....	15.81	5.06	14.95	4.97	16.95	4.73
Heterosexuality.	11.60	6.74	11.35	6.07	12.89	7.33
Aggression.....	10.19*	4.11	10.15*	3.83	12.62	3.69

* Differs significantly from attitudes, $P \geq .01$.

† Differs significantly from attitudes, $P \geq .05$.

The lists coincide, with two exceptions. The judged need for achievement did not differ significantly from the need for achievement reported by the high-school teachers. The judged need for intraception was significantly higher than the need reported by high-school teachers.

For several needs, there was no significant difference between the need reported by the teachers and the need judged by the group

of thirty-seven women. For elementary-school teachers these needs were for deference, exhibition, succorance, endurance, heterosexuality, and intraception. For high-school teachers these needs were for deference, exhibition, succorance, endurance, heterosexuality, and achievement.

As the data presented show, the group did think of teachers in terms of a stereotype. The group attributed to teachers a greater need for achievement, order, dominance, intraception, and aggression than the teachers themselves reported. But the group attributed to teachers less than the need they themselves reported for autonomy, affiliation, abasement, nurturance, and change.

The picture that emerges is one of an ambitious, domineering, managing, fussy, tyrannical woman who has powers that enable her to see more of people's motives than they wish to reveal. She has few friends; she is not interested in people's problems; social mingling is not to her liking. When things go wrong, she rarely blames herself. Set in her ways, bound up in routine, she hesitates to do the unconventional.

Although the subjects were adults, they did not see the teacher as an equal or a peer. They seemed to see her from the point of view of children before a fear-inspiring, authoritarian figure. For them, the teacher continued to be the strict, forbidding, uncompromising superego of their childhood days.

This attitude could easily account for the desire to impose strong restrictions on teachers in the community. An unsympathetic, inhuman individual would certainly not be interested in social activities and friendships, especially friendships with members of the other sex. Such a domineering individual would quite likely be barred from such activities lest her censure ruin the enjoyment of others. Seen as an unpleasant, authoritarian figure, the teacher would be a target for ridicule.

True, this image exaggerated many needs the teachers actually had. But the picture was based on reality. The group's conception of

teachers' needs for deference, exhibition, succorance, endurance, and heterosexuality did not differ from the teachers' own reports of these needs. These five needs, which were not stereotyped, were probably the foundations on which the group built its stereotype.

One finding points up the exaggeration in the image the group held. Teachers' needs in five areas were seen accurately. For four of these five needs—deference, exhibition, endurance, and heterosexuality—teachers did differ statistically from the norms of the Personal Preference Schedule. Yet teachers were seen as different from the average woman (according to the norms of the Personal Preference Schedule) in fourteen of the fifteen need patterns.

Several other observations should be made about the needs that were not stereotyped. They may be needs that the teachers actually had, needs that the group recognized as characteristic of teachers. Or they may be needs the public expected the teacher to have, thus subjecting her to pressure to develop them. It is impossible to determine whether the stereotype gave rise to the trait or the trait gave rise to the stereotype.

The needs that were not stereotyped, it should be noted, are not consistent with the stereotype of the inhuman, authoritarian figure. Of these five needs, deference and endurance were strong needs, while exhibition was a weak need. Why did the group recognize that the teachers were, on the one hand, highly deferent and enduring and, on the other, lacking in the needs of heterosexuality and exhibition? Perhaps because the stereotype would prove too threatening if these personality flaws and contradictions were not included in the total picture of teacher personality.

Succorance, the judged need that was close to teachers' actual scores as well as to norms of the Personal Preference Schedule, evidently fits the popular notion of the total teacher personality. In five needs that were not stereotyped, the group viewed the teachers' needs as they actually appeared in the teacher personality.

The study has several limitations. It was based on a limited sample. The subjects were representative of the middle class, probably the

upper middle class. Thus the findings cannot be generalized to include members of the upper or lower classes. The group certainly had more formal education than a group representative of the general population of the same mean age. We cannot assume that a sample of the general population, with an educational background different from that of the group in the sample, would hold the stereotype held by the group of women in the study. It is also possible that men's attitudes toward teachers differ from women's. It has already been mentioned that the writer did not specify that the average teacher should be considered a woman. This omission imposes some limits on the validity of the study. Though there is room for more rigorous investigation, the results of the study reveal the existence of a teacher stereotype.

NOTES

1. This article is based on research carried out under the direction of Philip W. Jackson, an assistant professor of education at the University of Chicago.

2. Horace B. English and Ava C. English, *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytic Terms: A Guide to Usage* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), p. 523.

3. Philip W. Jackson and Egon G. Guba, "The Need Structure of In-service Teachers: An Occupational Analysis," *School Review*, LXV (Summer, 1957), 176-92.

4. Allen L. Edwards, *Edwards Personal Preference Schedule* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1954).

5. Data on women teachers was taken from Jackson and Guba, *op. cit.*, Table 1, p. 179.

Book Reviews

Predicting Delinquency and Crime by SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK.
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xxii+
284. \$6.50.

Although this book presents an important summary of one aspect of the Gluecks' painstaking lifelong work on criminals and delinquents, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck have written other books that are more useful to educators. In each of their major studies the Gluecks derived experience tables for the group under study. In *Predicting Delinquency and Crime* the Gluecks bring these tables together; they set forth the argument for using objective predictive devices; and they present the rather scanty data cross-validating the scales to warrant considering them as prediction instruments.

With the exception of the chapters that report the Social Prediction Scale to identify predelinquents, the book directs its plea mainly to judges who have a responsibility in the sentencing process. There has been notable resistance in the legal profession to use of any "mechanical" method for determining disposition of cases. The Gluecks skilfully point out the value of objective instruments that yield reliable estimates of the probability that a given individual will succeed, adjust, or fail under a given program. Such instruments, the Gluecks say, provide an invaluable foundation for the exercise of individual judgment. The authors avoid the trap of seeming to replace the judge by "an adding machine." They offer the prediction scale as an important aid.

To the professional educator, who has long used intelligence tests, reading-readiness tests, aptitude tests, and other instruments in making decisions that range from class placement to college admission, this facet of the book will seem labored. As we see the significance of such devices in making choices in the educational process, we can appreciate the tremendous contribution the Gluecks are seeking to make to legal processes.

The techniques used by the Gluecks in constructing their scales is deceptively simple. In each of their studies, they locate the five items of information that can be secured objectively and that yield the largest percentage differences between those who repeat and those who do not, or between those who adjust and those who fail in a program. Each category for each item is given a score based on its statistical association with success. The total score for the scale can then be converted into a figure that indicates the probability of a given outcome. On mathematical grounds one can find technical flaws in this procedure. However, work done to date on predictive devices has indicated that refinement in method

rarely increases the efficiency of an instrument sufficiently to be worth the bother. The Glueck scales have the merit of simplicity; their authors do not close the door to alternatives. The reader will be impressed, not only with the monumental backing for their work, but with the clear statements of caution and limitation that accompany the presentation.

Educators will be interested chiefly in the chapters on scales that can be used to identify potential delinquents young enough to permit special school programs. There are three such scales, all derived from the comparison between delinquents and non-delinquents reported in *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*. The most used is the Social Prediction Scale, based on family relationships. The others are a character-structure scale based on Rorschach testing and a personality-traits scale based on psychiatric interviews. Cross-validations are reported only for the Social Prediction Scale. Results mentioned in the book and additional results that have appeared in professional journals are fairly impressive. For boys, the scale consistently locates about 80 per cent of future delinquents; for girls, it approaches the 100 per cent mark. The percentages of "false positives" seem to be low.

The five items in the Social Prediction Scale are discipline by father, affection for child by father, supervision by mother, affection for child by mother, and cohesiveness of family. Given the requisite home investigation for each child, it is possible for a school to identify boys and girls who can be saved from delinquent careers only by some form of therapeutic intervention. That such intervention will be effective has yet to be established. Clearly the next stage in a comprehensive attack on delinquency is to determine what types of programs will significantly alter the probability that a given high-risk (delinquency-prone) boy or girl will become delinquent.

The Social Prediction Scale opens the road to a new era in research on delinquency. It is now possible not only to identify children who require special attention but to test programs. An experiment can now be set up using an experimental and a control group equated as to probability of delinquent career. The experimental group can be given the benefit of a program, and ultimately differences in outcome, if any, measured.

This reviewer has one reservation concerning the use of the Social Prediction Scale in school situations to the exclusion of the character-structure scale and the personality-traits scale. The reservation is based on an early report by Powers in connection with the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study in which second-grade teachers successfully identified more than

75 per cent of the children who later became delinquents. The teachers' observations bear a striking similarity to the lists of traits based on the Rorschach and the psychiatrists' interviews: social assertiveness, defiance, suspiciousness, destructiveness, emotional stability, adventurousness, extroversion as to action, suggestibility, stubbornness, and emotional instability. It might prove useful to construct from these traits a rating scale to be used by teachers on the basis of observation of classroom behavior and to see whether this scale yielded results equal or greater in reliability than the more expensive and chancy home investigation required by the Social Prediction Scale.

In summary, *Predicting Delinquency and Crime* is a worthy addition to the long series of ground-breaking works by the Gluecks. That it raises as many questions as it answers is a tribute to its effectiveness. It is bound to stimulate further research; scientists can hardly want a better testimonial.

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

Wayne State University

Summer Conferences and Workshops at the University of Chicago

Plans are being completed for several conferences and workshops to be held at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1960. Already scheduled are offerings on reading, language arts, adult education, guidance, and administration.

CONFERENCE ON READING

The Twenty-third Annual Reading Conference will be held from Tuesday, June 28, through Friday, July 1. The theme of the conference is "Sequential Development of Reading Abilities."

The opening general session will focus on the importance of sequential experiences in teaching reading.

Among the subjects that will be examined during half-day sessions are word perception, comprehension, thoughtful and critical reaction to what is read, assimilation and learning through reading, and the acquiring of reading interests and tastes. One half-day session will be devoted to the sequential development of reading in content areas; among the topics that will be discussed are inquiry, problem-solving, and research. The final session will be devoted to bringing together conclusions of various groups and pointing up the interrelations among various aspects of reading. At a joint evening session with the International Reading Association, participants will consider unsolved problems in teaching reading.

Sectional meetings will provide opportunities for raising questions, for sharing experiences, and for arriving at sound conclusions. Sectional meetings are planned for teachers in primary and middle grades, upper grades and junior high school, senior high school, and junior college. A special section is planned for teachers of corrective and remedial classes and another for administrators, supervisors, and reading consultants.

The conference is open without fee to students registered for the summer quarter. For all others, the fee will be \$10.00 for the entire conference, \$3.00 for one day, or \$1.50 for a single session. Copies of the preliminary program and information on board and room will be available about May 1 from Mrs. Helen M. Robinson, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

WORKSHOP IN READING

The annual Workshop in Reading will begin on July 5 and continue through July 29. The workshop is open to classroom teachers, reading

consultants and supervisors, administrators, librarians, and remedial teachers. Topics for discussion and intensive individual investigation will be chosen from topics that participants wish to consider. The program will include lectures, demonstrations, observation of testing and teaching techniques, and discussions of common problems.

The staff will include outstanding experts. Special sections are planned for teachers of remedial reading, consultants, and supervisors.

The workshop offers one and a half course credits (five semester hours). Applications must be filed in advance. Additional information and application blanks may be secured by writing Mrs. Helen M. Robinson, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

WORKSHOP IN LANGUAGE ARTS

The Fifth Annual Workshop in Language Arts, scheduled to meet from August 1 to 19, is open to classroom teachers, supervisors, and administrators.

The theme of the three-week workshop is "Developing Ability in Speaking." Participants will consider skills involved in speaking, methods and materials for developing speaking ability, and ways of evaluating pupils' growth in this area. While much of the emphasis will be on the elementary-school level, participants will have opportunities to explore speaking problems in high school and college. Workshoppers will also have a chance to work on problems in their own teaching situations.

The workshop offers one course credit (three and a third semester hours). Application forms for admission to the workshop and additional information may be obtained from Miss Helen K. Smith, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

WORKSHOPS FOR PRINCIPALS

A workshop for secondary-school principals, to be held from June 27 to July 15, will focus on change and adaptation to change in secondary education, as they affect the secondary-school principalship. Participants will examine such topics as trends in secondary education, implications for organization and administrative structure in secondary school, and expectations for the behavior of the principal of the secondary school in a new era. Each participant will be encouraged to develop a concept of himself as a principal. Activities will be planned to facilitate thoughtful review of individual behavior and small-group relations as they may affect the administration of secondary education.

Registration in the workshop may be for credit (three and a third semester hours) or non-credit as each participant elects.

For application forms and further information, write Conrad Briner, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

An unusual workshop for elementary-school principals will be held from June 27 to July 15. The workshop will focus on the principal, not on the principalship. The three-week session offers the practicing principal, or the individual who aspires to a principalship, an opportunity to take a look at himself as he behaves in a lifelike situation.

Each workshopper will become the principal of a hypothetical elementary school. In working through simulated situations, the individual will be asked to respond much as he would on the job. The responses each "principal" makes will be analyzed by the individual himself and by members of the workshop staff. When it is apparent to the students and to the staff members with whom the individual is working that attention should be directed to certain kinds of behavior, a program of study will be advanced to meet individual needs.

Enrolment will be limited to thirty-five workshoppers. Registration may be for credit (three and a third semester hours) or non-credit as the participant elects.

Application forms and further information may be obtained by writing Luvern L. Cunningham, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

CONFERENCE ON GUIDANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

School administrators and others who work in student personnel and guidance in junior and senior high schools are invited to take part in a conference sponsored by the counseling and guidance education staff of the Department of Education and the Midwest Administration Center. The conference, to be held on July 7 and 8, should be especially valuable for schools represented by both administrators and guidance personnel.

The conference will focus on more effective guidance of youth. Resources in the behavioral sciences, educational administration, and philosophy of education will be given special attention. Conferees will examine problems of staff utilization, identification of role, and communication as they may affect the reorganization of guidance in education.

For further information, please write Wray Strowig, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

WORKSHOPS FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF ADULT EDUCATION

Two workshops will have special interest for administrators of adult-education programs. The first, to be held from June 27 to July 15, is for directors and staff members connected with adult education in the public schools. The second workshop, to be held from July 18 to August 5, is designed for deans and other administrators operating adult-education programs in universities.

The workshops will seek to help each participant attain an understanding of the development, scope, and complexity of adult education; knowledge of the structure and processes through which educational activities are carried on; and solutions to specific problems. There will be opportunities for the direct interchange of views and the discussion of program ideas with other participants and staff members.

Participants are encouraged to formulate a problem to work on during the workshops.

Both workshops will be under the direction of Cyril O. Houle, of the University of Chicago.

Each workshop offers one course credit (three and a third semester hours). Attendance is limited to fifty.

Additional information and advance registration blanks may be obtained from Cyril O. Houle, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

From the Publishers

Method, History, Theory, and Practice

- Atkins, A. J., and Gwynn, J. Minor. *Teaching Alcohol Education in the Schools*. New York 11: Macmillan Co., 1959. Pp. x+190. \$3.20.
- Brown, James W., and Others. *A-V Instruction: Materials and Methods*. New York 36: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959. Pp. xxii+554. \$7.95.
- Burton, Dwight L. *Literature Study in the High Schools*. New York 17: Henry Holt & Co., 1959. Pp. xii+292. \$4.00.
- Conant, Howard, and Randall, Arne. *Art in Education*. Peoria, Illinois: Chas. A. Bennett Co., 1959. Pp. 346.
- Diamond, Solomon. *Information and Error: An Introduction to Statistical Analysis*. New York 3: Basic Books, 1959. Pp. xii+308. \$5.00.
- Farina, Albert M., and Others. *Growth Through Play*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1959. Pp. xii+246. \$5.75.
- The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook*. Edited by Oscar Krisen Buros. Highland Park, New Jersey: Gryphon Press, 1959. Pp. xxx+1292. \$22.50.
- Fiske, Marjorie. *Book Selection and Censorship*. Berkeley 4: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. xii+146. \$3.75.
- Fraser, Elizabeth. *Home Environment and the School*. Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, XLIII. London EC4: University of London Press, 1959. Pp. viii+86.
- Frederick, Robert W. *The Third Curriculum: Student Activities in American Education*. New York 1: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959. Pp. x+454. \$5.75.
- Garrett, Henry E. *Testing for Teachers*. New York 3: American Book Co., 1959. Pp. x+262. \$3.75.
- Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor. *Predicting Delinquency and Crime*. Cambridge 38, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xxii+284. \$6.50.
- Handlin, Oscar. *John Dewey's Challenge to Education*. The John Dewey Society Lectureship—Number Two. New York 16: Harper & Bros., 1959. Pp. 60. \$2.50.
- Huebner, Theodore. *How To Teach Foreign Languages Effectively*. New York 3: New York University Press, 1959. Pp. x+198. \$3.00.
- Kottmeyer, William. *Teacher's Guide for Remedial Reading*. St. Louis 26: Webster Publishing Co., 1959. Pp. viii+264. \$4.00.
- Smith, Donald E. P., and Carrigan, Patricia M. *The Nature of Reading Disability*. New York 17: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1959. Pp. viii+150. \$6.00.
- Tensions Our Children Live With: Stories for Discussion*. Edited by Dorothy T. Spoerl. Boston 8: Beacon Press, 1959. Pp. xxiv+232. \$3.50.
- Veatch, Jeannette. *Individualizing Your Reading Program*. New York 16: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959. Pp. xiv+242. \$4.50.
- Wall, H. D. *Child of Our Times: Cultural Change and the Challenge to Healthy Mental Growth*. Highbury Park, London, N.5: National Children's Home, 1959. Pp. 110.
- Walton, John. *Administration and Policy-Making in Education*. Homewood, Baltimore 18: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. Pp. 208. \$5.00.
- Wood, Hugh B. *Foundations of Curriculum Planning and Development*. Seattle 16: Cascade-Pacific Books, 1960. Pp. xiv+524.

Publications for High-School Teachers and Students

- Berry, Erick. *The Land and People of Iceland*. Portraits of the Nations Series. Philadelphia 5: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1959. Pp. 126. \$2.95.
- Bretz, Ann Cory. *Profile of Poetry: A Guide to Understanding and Enjoying Verse*. New York 16: Exposition Press, 1959. Pp. 136. \$3.00.
- Carroll, John B., and Sapon, Stanley M. *Modern Language Aptitude Test*. New York 17: Psychological Corporation, 1959. Specimen set.
- Cincinnati Public Schools. Curriculum Bulletins: No. 70, "Physical Education for Boys, Grades 7-12," pp. xii+240; "Physical Education for Girls, Grades 7-12," pp. xii+248. Cincinnati 6, Ohio: Public Schools, 1959.
- The College Handbook, 1959-61*. S. Donald Karl, Editor; Barbara L. Diehl, Associate Editor. New York 27: College Entrance Examination Board, 1959. Pp. xlv+556. \$2.00.
- Country Matters: An Anthology*. Selected and edited by Barbara Webster. Philadelphia 5: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1959. Pp. 308. \$5.00.
- Crow, Lester D., and Crow, Alice. *Sex Education for the Growing Family*. Boston 20: Christopher Publishing House, 1959. Pp. 190. \$4.00.
- Lessing, Lawrence P. *Understanding Chemistry*. New York 1: Interscience Publishers, 1959. Pp. 192. \$3.50 cloth. \$0.50 paper (Mentor Book MD276).
- Mehrens, H. E. *The Dawning Space Age*. Ellington Air Force Base, Texas: Civil Air Patrol, 1959. Pp. 224. \$2.00.
- Minneapolis Public Schools. *A Guide to the Teaching of Reading, Listening, Viewing, Grades 7-12*. Minneapolis 13: Public Schools, 1959. Pp. 76.
- Minneapolis Public Schools. Curriculum Guides in Business Education, "Junior High School Typewriting," pp. 22; "Typewriting 2A," pp. 12+4; "Typewriting 1 and 2," pp. 50; "Senior Typewriting," pp. 10; "Office Skills 1 and 2," pp. 48; "Stenographic Skills 1 and 2," pp. 56; "Senior Shorthand," pp. 12. Minneapolis 13: Public Schools, 1959.
- Port Arthur Public Schools. "Social Studies Curriculum, Tentative Course of Study: Grade Seven: Texas History," pp. 34a+140; "Ninth Grade: Civics," pp. 34a+127; "American History," pp. 34a+76; "Government," pp. 34a+79; "Economics," pp. 34a+81. Port Arthur, Texas: Public Schools, 1959.
- World Affairs Study Guide*. Edited by William C. Rogers and Herm Sittard. Minneapolis 15: World Affairs Program, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 1959. Pp. 48. \$1.00.

Pamphlets

- Attendance Accounting in California Public Schools*. Bulletin of the California State Department of Education, Vol. XXVIII, No. 6. School Business Administration Publication No. 5. Sacramento, California: State Department of Education, 1959 (revised). Pp. xii+124.
- Braam, Leonard S., and Sheldon, William D. *Developing Efficient Reading*. New York 16: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. viii+120. \$2.50.
- Cassidy, Rosalind. *Counseling in the Physical Education Program*. New York 1: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959. Pp. viii+156. \$1.35.

- Creativity of Gifted and Talented Children.* Addresses by Paul Witty, James B. Conant, and Ruth Strang, given at the Atlantic City Meetings of American Association of School Administrators, February, 1959. New York 27: Published for American Association for Gifted Children by Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. Pp. viii+52. \$1.00.
- Delinquent Behavior: Principles and Practices.* Prepared by William C. Kvaraceus and Others. Washington 6: Juvenile Delinquency Project, National Education Association, 1959. Pp. 350. \$2.00.
- Directory of American Psychological Services, 1960.* Glendale, Ohio: American Board for Psychological Services, 1959. Pp. x+214. \$1.50.
- Educators Guide to Free Filmstrips.* Compiled and edited by Mary Foley Horkheimer and John W. Diffor. Randolph, Wisconsin: Educators Progress Service, 1959 (eleventh edition). Pp. viii+191. \$6.00.
- Free and Inexpensive Teaching Aids for Science Education.* Compiled by Muriel Beuschlein. Chicago Schools Journal, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (Supplement). Chicago 21: Chicago Schools Journal, Chicago Teachers College, 1959. Pp. 72. \$0.25.
- From Color Blind to Color Conscious: A Study of Public School Integration in New York City.* New York 28: American Jewish Congress (15 East 84th Street), 1959. Pp. 58. \$1.00.
- Gillham, Helen L. *Helping Children Accept Themselves and Others.* Practical Suggestions for Teaching, No. 20. New York 27: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. Pp. viii+56. \$1.00.
- Griffiths, Daniel E. *Administrative Theory.* New York 1: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959. Pp. x+124. \$1.25.
- Gropper, George L., and Fitzpatrick, Robert. *Who Goes to Graduate School?* Pittsburgh: American Institute for Research, 1959. Pp. vi+66.
- Harap, Henry. *Improvement of Curriculum in Indian Schools.* Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1959. Pp. ii+94.
- Hein, Robert A., and Davis, Esther K. *Easy Bulletin Boards.* Cleveland 21: Easy Bulletin Boards (P.O. Box 103), 1959. Pp. 50. \$1.50.
- Hill, George E. *Evaluating the School's Testing Program.* Report of a Study Supported by the Division of Guidance and Testing, State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio, under the National Defense Education Act. Pupil Services Series, No. 2, 1959. Athens, Ohio: Center for Educational Service, College of Education, Ohio University, 1959. Pp. 28.
- Hill, George E. *Identifying the School's Guidance Resources.* Report of a Study Supported by the Division of Guidance and Testing, State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio, under the National Defense Education Act. Pupil Services Series, No. 3. Athens, Ohio: Center for Educational Service, College of Education, Ohio University, 1959. Pp. 18.
- Junior Colleges and Specialized Schools and Colleges.* Boston 8: Porter Sargent, 1959 (third edition). Pp. 448. \$5.00.
- Juvenile Delinquency among Negroes in the United States.* Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook Number, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3. Washington 1: Published for Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, by Howard University Press, 1959. Pp. 187-387. \$2.50.

- Kenworthy, Leonard S., and Kenworthy, Thomas L. *Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs*. Brooklyn 10: World Affairs Materials, Brooklyn College, 1959 (fourth edition). Pp. 74. \$1.00.
- LeFevre, John R., and Boydston, Donald N. *An Annotated Guide to Free and Inexpensive Health Instruction Materials*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959. Pp. xxxviii+72. \$5.00 cloth. \$2.50 paper.
- Louisiana State University: A Pictorial Record of The First Hundred Years*. Edited by V. L. Bedsole and Oscar Richard. Baton Rouge 3: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. Pp. 112. \$2.95.
- Osborne, Ernest. *The Parent-Teacher Partnership*. New York 27: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. Pp. 52. \$0.60.
- Problems and Opportunities in Financing Education*. Washington 6: Committee on Tax Education and School Finance, National Education Association, 1959. Pp. 160. \$0.75.
- Purchase Guide for Programs in Science, Mathematics, Modern Foreign Languages*. Prepared by the Council of Chief State School Officers with the assistance of Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc., and Others. Boston 17: Ginn & Co., 1959. Pp. viii+336. \$3.95.
- Reid, Robert H. *American Degree Mills: A Study of Their Operations and of Existing and Potential Ways To Control Them*. Washington 6: American Council on Education, 1959. Pp. xii+100. \$1.00.
- Reller, Theodore L. *Divisional Administration in English Education*. University of California Publications in Education, Vol. XII, No. 3. Berkeley 4: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. 149-212. \$1.25.
- A Study of Technical Education in California*. Bulletin of the California State Department of Education, Vol. XXVIII, No. 7. Sacramento, California: State Department of Education, 1959. Pp. vi+122.
- Suggestions for the Cooperating Teacher*. Edited by Aleyne C. Haines. Gainesville, Florida: Materials Diffusion Project, College of Education, University of Florida, 1959. Pp. 32. \$0.35.
- Thayer, Vivian T. *The Challenge of the Present to Public Education*. Columbus 10, Ohio: College of Education, Ohio State University, 1959. Pp. viii+42. \$1.00.
- U.S. Information Agency, *12th Review of Operations, January 1-June 30, 1959*. Washington 25: Government Printing Office, 1959. Pp. 28.
- West Haven, Connecticut: A Study of Community Inaction*. Report of an Investigation. Washington 6: National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, National Education Association, 1959. Pp. 40.
- UNESCO (International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27):
- East and West: Towards Mutual Understanding?* by Georges Fradier. Pp. 50. Education Abstracts, Vol. X, 1958:
- No. 9—"Education in Brazil." Pp. 24. \$0.20.
- No. 10—"Selected Educational Periodicals." Pp. 28. \$0.20.

Education Abstracts, Vol. XI, 1959:

No. 1—"School Furniture and Equipment." Pp. 20. \$0.25.

No. 2—"Physical Education: Official Primary and Secondary Programmes." Pp. 24. \$0.25.

No. 3—"Adult Education and Leisure-Time Activities in Czechoslovakia." Pp. 14. \$0.25.

Nos. 4-5—"Textbooks and International Understanding." Pp. 28. \$0.25.

No. 6—"Education in Italy." Pp. 20. \$0.25.

Education for International Understanding: Examples and Suggestions for Class-room Use. Pp. 116. \$1.50.

Educational Studies and Documents, 1959:

No. 29—"Teaching about the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies: A Selected Bibliography." Pp. 60. \$1.00.

No. 30—"Technical and Vocational Education in the U.S.S.R." Pp. 54. \$1.00.

No. 31—"An International Bibliography of Technical and Vocational Education." Pp. 72. \$1.00.

No. 33—"Secondary Technical and Vocational Education in Underdeveloped Countries." Pp. 34.

Monographs on Fundamental Education, 1959:

No. XII—*The Provision of Popular Reading Materials.* A collection of studies and technical papers, compiled and edited by Charles Granston Richards. Pp. 302. \$3.00.

World Survey of Education: Vol. II, Primary Education. Pp. 1390. \$28.00 cloth. \$26.00 paper.

U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION:

Administration of Public Laws 874 and 815: 8th Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, June 30, 1958. Pp. vi+160. \$1.00.

Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1954-56: Chapter 2, Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56: Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances. Pp. xii+140 \$0.45.

Bulletin 1959, No. 2—*Federal Funds for Education, 1956-57 and 1957-58.* Pp. xiv+204. \$0.75.

Bulletin 1959, No. 7—*Status of Preparation Programs for Guidance and Student Personnel Workers.* Pp. vi+50. \$0.25.

Bulletin 1959, No. 9—*Teacher Education: Fifth Year Programs: A Selected Bibliography.* Pp. iv+20. \$0.15.

Bulletin 1959, No. 10—*State School Legislation, 1957.* Pp. iv+190 \$0.70.

Bulletin 1959, No. 11—*Japan: Three Epochs of Modern Education.* Pp. xii+220. \$1.25.

Bulletin 1959, No. 13—*Brazil: Education in an Expanding Economy.* Pp. x+142. \$0.50.

Bulletin 1959, No. 18—*Cooperative Research Projects, Fiscal 1958.* Pp. xii+54. \$0.25.

"READING IS THE CORNERSTONE OF ALL EDUCATION"

READING FOR ENJOYMENT

A Complete Program For The
Junior High School

- Adventure Bound Grade 7
- Journeys Into America Grade 8
- Literature for Life Grade 9

A product of "creative planning," these anthologies combine literary value with a complete skills program.

THE NORTH STAR BOOKS

junior high school
and up

Major modern authors write vividly of America's development, in a series designed to enrich the history, English, or social studies program. Special school editions are durably bound.



BOSTON
New York 16
Atlanta 5
Geneva, Ill.
Dallas 1
Palo Alto

THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

by Myron Lieberman

A Blunt and Constructive Statement on the Muddle in Our Schools

Myron Lieberman offers a forceful argument in favor of greater teacher control of public education in the United States. He criticizes as "naïve" educational reforms that are mainly the work of government, school boards, and the lay public. What is needed, he contends, is a coherent decision-making structure in public education, and less theorizing upon the broader issues of methodology and philosophy. He believes that the primitive employer-employee relationships between school systems and teachers must be altered, and that the shibboleth of "local control" only fosters incompetence. Lieberman not only proposes a new decision-making structure but suggests positive methods for improving the educational system. An important feature of the book is its analysis and criticism of the theories of James B. Conant, H. G. Rickover, Paul Woodring, and others prominent in the current controversy in education.

\$5.00

Through your bookseller

UNIVERSITY OF

Chicago PRESS

5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois

IN CANADA: The University of Toronto Press, Toronto 8, Ontario



New Handbook for Writers

By SUMNER IVES

North Texas State College

This new handbook is written for those who wish to make practical applications of the chief discoveries coming from recent study in linguistics and semantics but who do not wish to make the subject of either field the chief content of the freshman English course. It assumes that the best way to learn to write well is to practice writing under competent guidance; that in order to practice fruitfully a student should have certain information about the language and about the present conventions of written English; and that in order to receive guidance he should know the most common terms used in talking about the language and about its effective use. It supplies a summary of this information and a reasonable amount of material for directed practice in those matters which give students most difficulty. It is organized so that it can be used for reference on individual points as well as for daily assignments.

416 pages. \$4.50

ALFRED A. KNOPF, Publisher

College Department

501 Madison Avenue

New York 22

BOOKS FOR ASIAN STUDENTS

In four years of operation, The Asia Foundation's special project, Books for Asian Students, has sent one million selected books and 200,000 journals to more than 2,000 libraries, universities and colleges, schools and civic organizations in Asia. These materials were donated by over 700 university and college groups, publishers, libraries and individuals in the United States. The great need for books and journals continues, as evidenced by increasing requests.

Contributions of books and journals will be greatly appreciated. Books in every category on the university and college level in good condition published in 1946 or after, works by standard authors regardless of date, and scholarly, scientific or technical journals in runs of five years or more can be sent directly to:

BOOKS FOR ASIAN STUDENTS

21 DRUMM ST., SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIFORNIA

The Foundation will reimburse donors for transportation costs of substantial shipments. All contributions are tax deductible.

The Asia Foundation, a non-profit, non-political organization, founded by private American citizens, supports individuals and groups in Asia who are working for educational, cultural and community development. The Foundation maintains sixteen offices in Asia from Japan through Southeast Asia to Afghanistan.

Prologue to Teaching

Readings and Source Materials with Text

edited by MARJORIE B. SMILEY, Hunter College,
and JOHN S. DIEKHOFF, Western Reserve University

Prologue to Teaching serves the textbook needs of the rapidly developing, broadly based foundation courses offered either at the beginning or culmination of the teacher education sequence. It helps the prospective teacher understand better the historical, philosophical, and sociological backgrounds of education and acquaints him with the typical and important problems and issues of education.

1959

607 pp.; illus.

\$5.75

*If you are not familiar with this new text, please
write for an examination copy.*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

417 Fifth Avenue • New York 16

THE PRODUCT OF COMPREHENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN THE FIELD
OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TESTS

- a continuous set of group tests of abstract reasoning ability
- for kindergarten through Grade 12
- characterized by highly representative norms
- easy to administer; convenient to score
- efficient, wholly dependable, practical



BOSTON

Regional Sales Offices:

New York 16

Atlanta 5

Geneva, Ill.

Dallas 1

Palo Alto

GINN AND COMPANY

ENGLISH SKILLS

Here's real training in
written composition

No longer need writing be the missing skill! You'll find in *English Skills* lively presentation and skillfully designed practice in the important aspects of written composition from the sentence to letter writing, essays, and criticism. Plenty of oral composition, too.

For grs. 9-12—books, workbooks, tests, manuals. Join the many schools selecting *English Skills* for its unusual teaching power.

Home Office—Boston

New York 11 Chicago 6 Atlanta 3 Dallas 1 Palo Alto Toronto 16

*Hook
Guild
Stevens*



